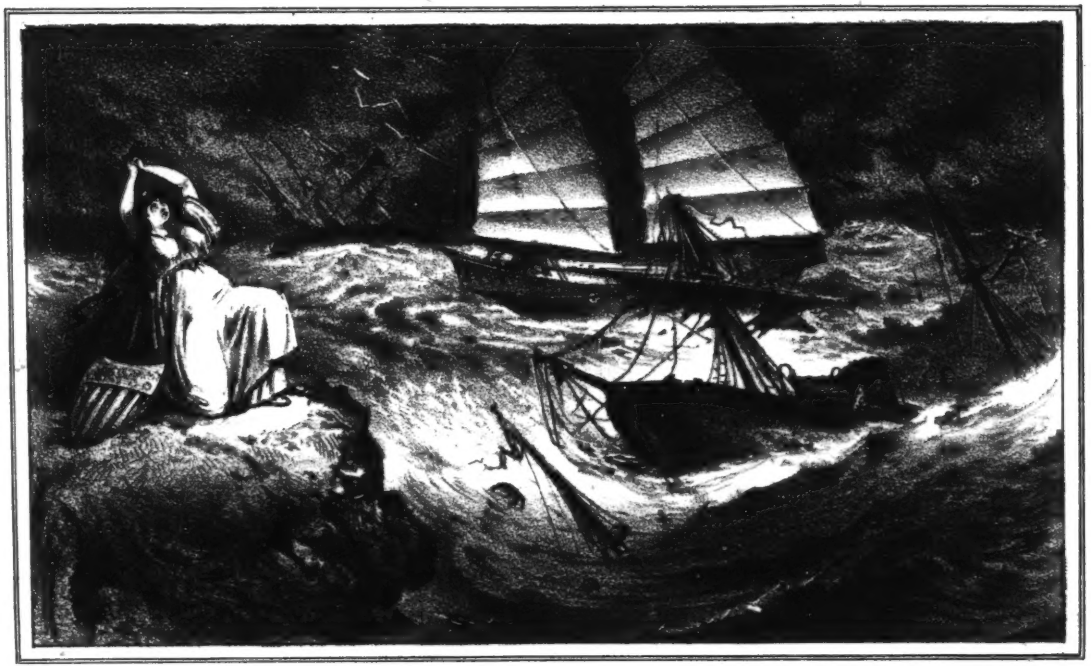

"THE SHIP OF STATE GLIDED NOISELESSLY TO HER DOOM."

LAST DAYS

OF

THE REPUBLIC

By P. W. DOONER.

"She sighted, afar, the foam of the maelstrom, and tossed her haughty pennants in sovereign disdain of its power. But its current was around her, and she glided noiselessly to her doom."

Illustrated by G. F. Keller.

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UTOPIA
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PREFACE.

THE reader will bear in mind that this history is written for the Twentieth, and not for the Nineteenth Century. It details, however, the events in which we now, and will continue to, have an active interest. But the present generation must, in the ordinary course of nature, pass into the grave before the curtain shall have fallen upon the last act of this national drama.

It will, doubtless, be objected to this work that it is, in part, mere speculation; and it will, further, be urged that it is absurd in presupposing the possibility of a condition of affairs so extreme as that foreshadowed in its pages; but I have only to say, in explanation, that I am not responsible for the result any more than I should be for the product of the multiplication of two given numbers. In the one case, the numbers are submitted to the process of multiplication according to the rules of arithmetic, and a third, or additional number, is produced. It would be folly to quarrel with this result. In the second case, the data of thirty years of observation and experiment have been taken and submitted to a deductive examination—multiplied, as it were, by the hopes, the fears, the experience, the passions and prejudices of men, as well as by the example of history, and I am compelled to abide the result.

That I am not satisfied with this, must be obvious; but I can no more conscientiously change it in any particular, without discovering some plain mistake in the data upon which it is based, than I could change a figure in the product of my multi-

plication example, without discovering that I had mistaken a digit in one of the given numbers.

If, therefore, that very enterprising "failure" known as the Book Critic should wish to deal with the inevitable, I should reasonably look on with unconcern; but it is requested to understand, now, and for all time, that, in this matter, I am out of the controversy. I have simply done my duty in a matter of deductive research, and submit the result of my labors—hoping, meanwhile, that some timely act of administrative foresight may avert the impending catastrophe, which, at this period, menaces not only our civilization, but, indeed, our very existence as one among the nations of the earth.

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INTRODUCTORY.

In picturing the condition of the American continent toward the close of the Nineteenth, or about the beginning of the Twentieth Century, A. D., it will be necessary, to the intelligent appreciation of the apparently incredible order of events at that time to be established, that we trace the causes which must superinduce this change, and lay them, in their order, before the reader. To faithfully carry out this historical scheme is the aim of the present work.

The State of California will figure somewhat conspicuously in these pages, but this is owing entirely to the fact that she is the member of our national political organization into which has been injected the poison that is slowly corroding the vital principle of our national life. This wounded member being the first to taste the agonies of impending death, was also the first to give intimation, by the unnatural discord of her internal affairs, of the terrible disease that had fastened its grasp upon the vitals of the whole governmental structure.

The logic of these deductions, considered in the abstract, will, of course, be omitted. It would be of but little interest to the average reader, nor, in fact, would a purely metaphysical dissertation be appropriately located as a part of a purely historical work. It is sufficient for the author's aims and purposes that the conclusions arrived at be stated with sufficient clearness and detail to enable the country to see the necessity of taking measures to arrest the disease, before the power so to do shall have passed, forever, beyond the reach of political regeneration

LAST DAYS OF THE REPUBLIC.

CHAPTER I.

THE GOLDEN AGE IN CALIFORNIA—J. W. MARSHALL AND GENERAL SUTTER—EARLY IMMIGRATION—FROM CHAOS TO GOVERNMENT—CRIMES AND PENALTIES—THE ADVENT OF THE COOLIES—EARLY INTERCOURSE OF THE RACES—VISIONS OF CONQUEST—PURSUITS AND OCCUPATIONS.

THIS history begins with the birth of a new era in American enterprise, when, in the first month of the year 1848, an obscure workman looked with unfeigned incredulity upon a stratum of shining gravel and sand, laid bare by the waters of the American river. It might be gold; but the supposition was too extreme for the credulity of even the simple-minded millwright, J. W. Marshall. The broader experience of his employer, General Sutter, was necessary to pass upon the nature of the discovery; and his verdict settled the classification of the mysterious samples produced by Marshall. They were gold.

How it happened that, at this stage, the cool-headed business man and pioneer speculator escaped the fever which, for a quarter of a century

afterwards, seized upon and possessed the minds and faculties of the adventurous, not only in every part of the American Union, but also in every centre of population throughout the globe, is a matter of considerable speculative curiosity, however much it may lack the element of historical interest.

Notwithstanding the difficulties which beset the traveler, at that period in the history of California, through the very imperfect system of transportation then employed, and the dangers which lurked around the pathway, whether by land or by sea, that lies between this El Dorado and the centres of civilization, the following year (1849) witnessed an immigration to California which stands without a parallel in the history of any other commonwealth, or of any other people.

The report, that men were gathering sacks of gold among the mountains of California, was wafted to the bounds of the civilized world; and the avarice of mankind responded to the implied invitation to come forward and participate in the bounty of the earth. Young America surcharged with oozing ambition was greedy to seize upon her recent acquisition and to enjoy the fruits of conquest. First upon the scene, her vanguard spread themselves over the mountains, taking only the choicest gifts of their golden offerings. Next, the slumbering Spaniards of the New World aroused themselves from their wonted lethargy and poured

into this fabled territory; after which the subdued spirts of monarchical Europe drifted upon the scene.

Incongruous, indeed, was the human admixture that now, for a decade, continued to flow into California; and whether through the individuals themselves, or through the opinions which they entertained, every civilized people, as well as every sentiment of civilized government, the world over, was soon represented. The tendency to organization and assimilation inherent in the Caucasian race, here as elsewhere soon asserted itself, and its representatives, although gathered from three continents readily adopted a common view of the situation.

Some form of social and political organization had become a necessity for the protection of life and property, pending the organization of a state government, and the yet more dilatory operation of giving direction to its requirements. As the machinery of courts of justice were an impossibility in the interim, and the Spanish law, besides being imperfectly understood, was unable to cope with the spirit of the age, the whole people seemed, as if by tacit consent, to fix upon certain principles of natural law and vigorous justice, by which every man should be arrayed against every individual who should improperly interfere with the rights of others.

The commonest offences, many of which do not now rise up to the dignity of felony, were punish-

able with death. In fact the penalty inflicted, from time to time, depended as much upon the temper of the particular mob, executing the law, in each particular case, as it did upon the gravity of the offence charged; and very often the whispered reputation of the prisoner in the community was the weight which turned the balance for, or against, the forfeiture of his life.

The unanimity of sentiment by which the mandates of the mob were generally carried into execution cannot fail to stamp with some measure of justification the rigor of the measures adopted for the public safety. At this day, the men who comprised a part of that primitive community and who have, certainly, had the best opportunity of judging of the expediency of those measures, are the last to condemn them; and are almost unanimous in the position that milder measures would have failed of all usefulness.

In another view of the times, this severity was a necessity, to protect the industrious classes. The peculiar character of the immigration setting into California, could not fail to bring together a very large proportion of the criminal classes of the places whence they had come. Initiated into crime among scenes of comparative restraint, these were disposed to give full play to their vicious instincts upon this lawless frontier, and only the terrors of lynch law and the gibbet could, in any measure, have restrained the dominant violence of a very

large proportion of the population. The system of summary punishment thus established not only checked the vicious tendency of the criminal class, but also left its impress upon the criminal jurisprudence of the State, which, in a modified form, has continued down to the present day.

Among the immigrants that flowed into California soon after the discovery of gold among her mountains, was a people heretofore practically unknown upon the American continent. Differing in manners, dress, habits of life, religion and education, and widely in their physical aspect, as well as in their physical requirements, from all others, they were also incapable of assimilation, or of social intercommunication; nor did they manifest the slightest tendency or disposition to court a closer relationship with their fellow pioneers.

Servile to the last degree, they seemed to be a people ordained by nature to be the servants of all mankind. Eminently peaceful, industrious and law-abiding, as well as shrewd in business intercourse, but not strictly honest, and terribly avaricious, they submitted to authority sometimes with apparent reluctance, but seldom or never offered anything assimilating to violent opposition. They seemed to have gathered from their intercourse with their more aggressive neighbors, that passive submission to all established authority was the condition of their toleration, and to have accepted the terms without stopping to inquire how far the authority

exercised might be established or authorized. They were, thus, soon subjected to every species of imposition and extortion. Self-appointed tax collectors visited their camps, weekly, and, indeed, often daily, to collect from them that which they were given to understand were the revenues of the State.

The system, perhaps not differing very widely from that to which they had been accustomed at home, did not excite their suspicions until the success of the swindle had challenged the admiration of too many adventurers, who discovered an inexpensive method of providing themselves with the means of indulging their various lawless pursuits. The inordinate frequency of tax collections at length led to inquiry, and consequent enlightenment, upon this one point of imposition.

Many and various were the schemes of extortion from these plodding disciples of labor that were resorted to, with greater or less success on the part of the adventurer; but in many instances even pretence was abandoned to give place to open violence, in which they were made the victims of undisguised robbery. As a class, they were outside the social compact; and the engines of justice, which were ever ready to punish any infringement of the rights of others than them, propelled no agency for their redress or protection.

The reader who has visited the Pacific Coast will have readily recognized in this description the

subjects of the Chinese Empire. Suspicious by nature and with that characteristic quickened into a lively instinct by the peculiarities of his training and education, the Mongolian had no sooner discovered the artifice to which he had been subjected, than did his mind conceive that all absorbing distrust, which has ever since maintained the ascendant in his estimate of the American character. It is possible, however, that this spirit is but another form of the race, or national jealousy, which, for so many centuries, isolated the Chinese Empire from the intercourse of nations ; and that under the most considerate treatment in California, the same want of confidence would, still, have characterized this people. But it is, nevertheless, true, that the local prejudice entertained by the Chinese immigrants to California, against its Caucasian population, was nurtured by the abuses to which their pioneers were subjected.

This unwholesome spirit, seconded by a consuming avarice, and directed by a most incredible cunning, laid the foundation of a scheme of conquest unparalleled in the history of the human race. A bold ambitious desire, coupled with a deeply-rooted conviction of their ability to possess alone, and undivided, a land so admirably adapted by nature to their habits of life, and so intimately connected with the mother country for the purposes of commerce, seemed, at this time, to have

first taken possession of the minds of their prominent men.

Suddenly there sprang up among the Mongolian residents of the Pacific Coast a desire for material independence and the possession of landed estate. This was rapidly followed by a most elaborate immigration scheme—a scheme which, in the course of a few years, swelled the Mongolian population of the Pacific States and Territories from a few thousand to more than one hundred thousand souls.

The methods employed to secure this immigration will properly belong to a subsequent chapter.

Heretofore these people had applied themselves mainly to the lowest and most servile occupations, but soon there arose among them the new desire to become artisans, and all became anxious to acquire the rudiments of an English education. With the bare exception of their physicians (whose practice consisted principally of exorcism and the prescription of various insects, appropriately prepared, for internal use, as a treatment of specific diseases), and their priests, there were among them neither professional nor trades-people; yet their capacity for acquiring trades was as remarkable as their industry and indomitable perseverance. They soon learned to apply the craft of the shoemaker, the carpenter, the cabinet-maker, the bricklayer and others—and with so much skill and

dexterity as to seriously imperil the continuance of these pursuits in the hands of those of the white population who had made them the means of a livelihood; while those who had devoted themselves to the object of acquiring an English education were hardly less successful.

CHAPTER II.

RISE AND PROGRESS OF THE RACE CONFLICT——THE POLITICAL FAITH OF CHINA——HER TRADITIONS OF UNIVERSAL DOMINION——CHARACTERISTICS OF HER PLAN OF GOVERNMENT——EXTENT OF HER POPULATION —— SHE ENCOURAGES EMIGRATION —— RE-ARRANGEMENT OF HER TREATIES——BURLINGAME BECOMES A DUPE——THE SIX CHINESE COMPANIES——THE QUESTION OF LABOR——TROUBLE BREWING——THE RISE OF MONOPOLIES——LABOR COMBINATIONS ——CRASH IN VALUES——CONGRESS CONSIDERS THE SITUATION—— DRY FACTS ABOUT POLITICAL PARTIES——NEW ENGLAND'S PROPAGANDISM——CALIFORNIA MAKES A CONSTITUTION——THE PEOPLE AND THE CORPORATIONS.

THE reports which, following the treaty of 1858, continued to reach China, of the vast natural wealth of California coupled with the further consideration that her geographical position placed her, in contemplation of commerical comity, at the very doorway of China, made a deep impression upon the minds of the great statesmen who, at that period, conducted the affairs of the Empire. Subsequent events only tended to intensify this spirit of inquiry and investigation, until, in 1865, a corps of observation was sent out by the central government to see and report upon the resources of California.

The secret nature of this measure and the assumed private character of the visitors, shielded

them at once from public observation as well as suspicion; and I have not been able to find that any reference to this commission (for such it really was) has ever been made in the correspondence between the two governments. In due time the report of this commission was laid before the Imperial government, and was found to be confirmatory of the most favorable reports theretofore circulated; and, in short, it proved satisfactory, in every particular.

The traditions and the policy of China teach and require that she shall aim to rule the whole world; and she has been awaiting the march of events to initiate, by appropriate signs, the era of her conquests. If there are those who doubt that such is, indeed, the conviction of the Chinese people, and hence the policy of the Empire, all such are referred to the international correspondence between that government and our own. This singular hallucination breathes throughout almost every state paper issued under the authority of the Emperor.

For particular instances, for such of my readers as might not be satisfied with this generalization, or as may lack the facilities for a personal investigation of the subject, I will refer to the missive from the Emperor of China to the President of the United States, dated January 7, 1858, which proceeds as follows: "I, the august Emperor, wish health to the President of the United States.

Having received with profound respect the command of Heaven to sway with tender care the entire circuit of all lands, I regard the people everywhere, within and without the wide seas, with the same humane benevolence," etc.

And, again, in his missive of January 23, 1863, the business of state is introduced in the following manner: "In virtue of the commission we have received, with awe, from Heaven to rule all the world, natives and foreigners must be to us as one family," etc.

By these and similar expressions everywhere occurring throughout the state correspondence of China, the tendency of that people is made clearly manifest. To Rule the World, is a dogma, a creed, a holy tradition of China and the middle of the Nineteenth Century combined the circumstances that promised the realization of this national dream —a tradition that was hoary with the frosts of centuries ere yet the "Mistress of the World" had traced the foundation marks of her imperishable structure upon the banks of the Tiber.

The oldest as well as the richest country of the globe, she was also the first and most advanced in the exercise of political economy, and hence in the science of government. This is made manifest by the vast population she sustains, considered in connection with the extent of her territory; for no other government, whether of ancient or modern times, has ever succeeded in maintaining, in a

condition of prosperity and peace, a population so immense upon a like extent of territory—large, though it is. And if the peace, protection and prosperity of a people are an indication of good government, then the government of China stands vindicated. Of the pacific disposition of that government, proofs are not wanting; while, of the prosperity of the people, something may be gathered from the writings of diplomatic agents and others traveling or resident in China. In this connection reference may be had to the letter of Hon. G. F. Seward, from Hong Kong, in March, 1876, to Mr. Fish. He says: "As things are, there are, perhaps, as few persons pinched with want, to be seen in the streets of most Chinese cities, as in those of the cities of christendom."

Burlingame tells us, in his letter to Secretary Seward, of date December 14, 1867,—and that he should be an excellent authority upon the subject no one will, for a moment, doubt,—that the population of China comprises one-third of the whole human race.

That nation, which built up her civilization and maintained her autonomy by the undeviating pursuit of peace, early became aware that a conquest inaugurated by the exercise of peaceful negotiations could, alone, promise complete success. The hour had arrived for the vindication of her traditions. She had weighed all the circumstances, and become determined in the prosecution of her

resolve. The control of the United States would give her the virtual control of the Western Hemisphere. The resolve had become fixed, and its prosecution, alone, remained.

As the introductory act, she proceeded to transport her surplus population to America and to have them learn to maintain themselves there. She had unbounded confidence in the patriotism of her people, while, upon their industry she knew she could rely. Hence, her subjects must fill up every avenue of industry; must become the yeomanry of the Western World; must first effeminize and then conquer the luxurious people who, judging from the pursuits and pleasures that have grown up into institutions among them, live only to gratify the various dominant passions of their nature.

The first step to be made would prove the most difficult; after that should have obtained recognition and toleration, all else would follow with comparative facility. Then, out of her five hundred millions of people, she could readily afford the millions necessary to carry out this immense design.

The existing treaties between the United States and China being silent upon the important matters essential to the regulation of emigration between the two powers, the subjects of the Chinese Empire were entitled to maintain, in America, barely the natural rights of man. It was evident that no

grand scheme of emigration could be launched under such adverse circumstances.

But the whole scheme of conquest having been settled as a mere question of expediency, was admitted in that particular. It remained only to consider its practicability. The guarantees of existing treaties being insufficient to favor a scheme of emigration such as would be necessary to transfer any considerable portion of the population of China to our shores, further treaty stipulations must be entered into. But how, at this time, to solicit negotiations heretofore tendered herself, and rejected with disdain, was, indeed, a problem more difficult of solution than it might, at first, seem.

The exclusive and haughty character of the Ta-Tsing Government rendered it quite impossible that overtures should now come from China. Any such action would be inconsistent with, as well as a reflection upon, her dignity, and contrary to her policy and her traditions, extending back into the shadows of pre-historic times.

But chance, and the aptitude to turn fortuitous circumstances to account (which has always been a mark of successful statesmanship), now pointed to a plausible, if not a quite honorable, procedure for the amplification of the treaty stipulations between the high contracting parties.

Anson Burlingame was at this time Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary from

the United States to China. Prince Kung and another able statesman of the Empire, named Wein-Siang, affected, very suddenly, to have discovered in our Minister a knowledge of the world and of men, besides other qualifications which would make him a valuable attaché of the Foreign Office of China. He was accordingly invited by Wein-Siang, whose action was approved and seconded by Prince Kung, to accept the position of Envoy to the Treaty Powers, to represent the Chinese Empire.

Now, the American people, however excellent at home, or liberal abroad, are exceedingly susceptible to the influences which play about Imperial Courts, and which promise, however remotely, to confer class distinction upon the individual; and this passion for rank-distinction is perhaps the most ludicrous and contemptible phase of the American character. Burlingame was not an exception to his countrymen. His position as Minister of the United States shrunk into insignificance at the brighter prospect of representing China as her Envoy to the Treaty Powers; and, accordingly, to accept that position, he, on the 21st of November, 1867, resigned his office as Minister, in the following grandiloquent and crushing phraseology, addressed to the State Department, at home:

"SIR:—In the interest of my country and of civilization, I do hereby resign my commission as

Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary from the United States to China;" and became a high functionary of the Chinese Empire.

No sooner was this appointment promulgated by the Imperial decree, which was signed on the day immediately following, than the scheme, for the advancement of which he had been promoted and betrayed, was considered in State Council.

In justice to Mr. Burlingame, however, it must be admitted that he never suspected the treachery that lay hidden at the bottom of his elevation; and up to the hour of his death, which occurred soon after the treaty was made, and before its ratification, it had never flashed upon his mind that he had been betrayed into a foreign conspiracy against the independence of his country and the freedom of his race.

It is needless to enter further into the details of the treaty of 1868, which has become a part of the history of both countries, and is familiar to all. Suffice it to say, that, through the successful manipulation of an ex-Minister of one country, who had become the Envoy of another, the United States were placed in the attitude of solicitor, to whose plaint the cunning statesmen of China finally gave a hypocritical consent.

Thus was opened up a scheme of invasion which has since been conducted to the utmost limit that American endurance would tolerate. For many years this immigration has flowed incessantly,

landing at the various ports on the Pacific seaboard of the United States hundreds of thousands of Coolie laborers. To further expedite the work of invasion and hasten the hour for final occupation, a scheme of immigration was fixed upon by which every immigrant was assured a support. Companies were organized, ostensibly as private enterprises, but virtually chartered, controlled and directed by the central government at home. These were known in America as the Six Chinese Companies—of which, more hereafter—whose agents were commissioned by the Emperor; and, by the same authority, exercised the functions of legislative and judicial officers as well as virtual governors of the Chinese people in America.

The impetus given to Coolie immigration by the scheme now put into practical operation soon called forth the earnest remonstrance of the people of the Pacific Coast. The whole department of labor was becoming revolutionized, and "Chinese cheap labor" became a familiar phrase to represent a fall in the status, or the value of commodities. Unlike most slang phrases popularized by the spirit of the age, this had a substantial foundation in fact; for, within a few years following the ratification of the Burlingame treaty the price of unskilled labor fell fifty to seventy-five per cent. below its former standard. The Pacific Coast, but particularly the State of California, swarmed with Coolie laborers, competition with

whom, in that capacity, became impossible to white laborers.

The European immigrant, who had heretofore occupied this field, was seldom without family ties. Parents or children were generally dependent upon him for support. Besides this, the necessaries of life, in his case, were such as have been peculiar to our civilization. His table must be spread with substantial food, otherwise continuous labor is an impossibility, while the very requirements of civilized life demand the procurement of clothing and habitation in reasonable proportion and degree. But the opposition which now usurped this department of industry was so manifestly irresistible that, for the white laborer, with his great comparative necessities, to persevere in the retention of its control, by competition, was a positive absurdity. The Coolie labors with slowness, but with unremitting constancy and great precision, so that while he will not perform the same amount of labor for a brief period of time, that is usual for an European workman, yet his monthly execution will compare favorably with that of the latter; while, if his work be considered for a much longer period, he will, probably, have accomplished more. With such precision is every work performed, that the Coolie seldom sustains a loss of time through the occurrence of painful accidents; he knows little of sickness, and less still of those pernicious habits which are the source

of so much idleness and dissipation among the European people. To these advantages he has added a further, that he has solved the problem of cheap living. Fifty dollars per annum will maintain the ordinary Coolie laborer, whose food consists of little else than rice ; and add to this that he is untrammeled by family ties, and it must be admitted that in the field of labor he is, indeed, irresistible.

Thus it was that the first battle of the Chinese conquest was won. The field of unskilled labor was in the hands of the invaders, and a conquered populace stood disarmed and discomfited, while the conquerors complacently divided among themselves the franchises and prerogatives which American enterprise had created.

Enthused, although far from intoxicated, by this great moral victory, the invaders next turned their attention to the department of skilled labor. The system of mechanical education heretofore adopted had borne fruit; and hundreds of expert Chinese artisans stood ready, at a signal. They thronged the factories and workshops of all the cities and towns in the State; and another field, although obstinately contested, was yet, rapidly yielding before the well-directed assaults of the enemy. The field of skilled labor had been virtually captured; and now an army of American artisans, of both sexes, turned their faces toward the east and departed from the inhospitable land, once wrested

by their fathers from the wilderness and now passing, without a struggle, into a province of the Chinese Empire.

Contemporaneous with the fall in the prices of labor, the better class of laborers gradually returned to the eastern states. But all who had the disposition so to do, did not happen to have the means with which to put it into practical enforcement. It resulted that many were compelled to remain; and the families of these have known little else than distress in their contact with the world. A generation of desperadoes—the sons of honest parents, however—was the result. These were commonly known in California as "hoodlums," to designate that subdivision that preyed upon the misfortunes of the cities and towns, or "tramps," to designate those that traveled at large and lived upon the charity of the people.

Thus it was that society soon gravitated to classes. The wealthy class, enjoying the advantages of cheap labor, rapidly accumulated additional wealth, while the poorer classes, suffering from the disadvantage of a most degrading competition, sank lower and lower in the social scale. The causes which controlled this unnatural distribution of property soon became a matter of public discussion, and even the "unthinking masses" were not slow to discover that the presence, in our midst, of a large and increasing Chinese population, was, in some manner, instrumental in produc-

ing the public discontent. Thereupon, and without stopping to consider treaty stipulations, or the rights of foreigners in our country, the whole of the citizen producing-class at once declared that the Chinese must go! and that forthwith; while the whole moneyed class resolved that the Chinese must remain. Hence, the question, at once assumed a political aspect. Capital, always stronger than disinterested public sentiment, until the latter assumes the attitude of armed rebellion, offered no exception to the general rule, in its application to the present case. The citizen laboring classes, looking upon the Chinese as the immediate cause of the popular distress, took advantage of every occurrence that might happen to place the Coolie in the position of a public offender, and to visit him with summary punishment. If he should offer resistance, as he frequently did, he was generally killed, or killed his assailant, in which latter case his own fate was always speedily determined at the hands of those who felt outraged at such a turn of affairs.

Scenes of this character were enacted with more or less frequency, but not, however, without the interference of the State law, which, from time to time made feeble efforts to take the control of such cases. But our criminal code had, at this period, become so trifling, so wrapt up in refinements and exceptions to general rules, that the most atrocious murder could always go unscathed

of full justice, by the skillful interposition of technicalities, or the venality of public officers. In other respects the laws of the State extended full and ample protection to all classes alike — except when its fair intent was blackened or misunderstood by corrupt or ignorant judges—a very common combination of circumstances.

Numerous attempts were made throughout the State, by local municipal legislation, to discriminate against the Coolie; but all such attempts were invariably thwarted by the decrees of the Courts of Justice. On the other hand, corporations, and those combinations of capital, that under the name of "monopolies," are very familiar to the student of contemporary history in America, were arrayed on the side of the Mongolian. The politics of the State being largely controlled by the monopolies, it was generally conceded that legislators, or others who might have it in their power to embarrass the coveted relation between Monopoly and Cheap Labor, must give some satisfactory intimation of their favorable bias upon the Chinese question, before their election could be secured. This potential manœuvre retained every department of the Government on the side of accumulation and cheap labor. It was the old struggle of Capital against Labor, revived, with the same general result—Capital in the ascendant.

Defeated in every effort to establish a better order of affairs in California, the people adopted

the course of laying their grievances before Congress in a series of petitions, stating briefly the character of the prevalent abuses, and their probable cause, and praying relief. But Congress has no official advices that there is a superfluity of Chinese subjects in any part of the Union; does not, officially, know that the industries of any State of the Union, or that the happiness of any American citizen, is at all affected by any immigration from any nation or part of Asia or Africa; does not, officially, know that any of the institutions of the United States of America are menaced from any cause operating from without; does know, officially, now that the matter has been mooted, that there is a treaty between the United States and one China — a Burlingame treaty; does believe, officially, that under this treaty there was a right of free immigration conferred; doesn't recollect much about it, now, but considers the immigration correct and proper, and officially dismisses the whole subject with an exhaustive laudation of friendly relations, and international policy in general, and the privilege of free and unrestricted intercommunication in particular.

The failure to obtain relief through their appeals to Congress, now impelled the people to meditate redress by means more immediately under their control. They resolved to appeal to arms as soon as they should be finally and fully satisfied that peaceful measures would ultimately prove futile:

The time was not yet at hand for active hostilities, although it was amply ripe for preparation.

Military companies began to be formed, and the white laborers of the Pacific States were quickly transformed into a military people. The head-quarters of this movement was in San Francisco, whence, under the guidance of earnest men it rapidly spread beyond the boundaries of the State of California. This association of the people had the direct tendency to unite the white laborers and their sympathizers into a closer bond of fellowship.

A partisan spirit was soon born of this movement; but the principles upon which it was based being incompatible with the doctrines of existing political parties—both of which were controlled by the monopolies, and hence, pro-Coolie in their tendency—it necessarily clamored for individual political recognition.

Of this sentiment was born the Workingmen's party, which signalized its advent into the sphere of politics by electing its local ticket in many of the counties of the State. The presiding genius of this movement was a drayman of San Francisco, but a man, withal, of undoubted natural ability and firmness of character. He made no pretensions to the refinements or the graces of character which are supposed to belong to modern statesmen, and which distinguish the man of culture or refinement; but he was honest and not too ambitious. He loved his fellow-men of the class to which he

belonged, and he constituted himself their champion. In fact, he possessed many of the attributes and qualifications of that other drayman of history, who afterwards became Colonel Pride, the expurgator of the British House of Commons at the time of the abduction of Charles I.

Kearney, for such was the name of the present character, was not vindictive in his opposition to the dominant class, but he was abusive. He wielded an army of armed laborers with the same ease that a father might sway the purposes and inclinations of his family. He was moderate in all things except his language. He had no habits that he indulged to excess, while he invariably counseled moderation among his followers. But in his public speeches he indulged the most violent sentiments, and pictured to his auditors in homely, but forcible and fluent terms, the story of their common wrongs at the hands of the "hell-born Chinese plague," assisted by the "hell-bound bank-smashers, thieves and robbers of Nob Hill."

The progress of this anti-monopoly, anti-Chinese movement, combined with threats, which now became current, against the Chinese quarter of San Francisco, at length began to work upon the fears of capitalists. "The Chinese Must Go," had become the watchword of the hour. The club-rooms of the Workingmen were converted into the arsenals of an armed people; and it soon became evident that the Workingmen's party lacked only

the disposition to solve, in its own way, the Chinese question in California, for the time being.

This disposition might be quickened into action by an unforeseen occurrence, at any moment. The tenure of all property, viewed in the light of this uncertainty, rested upon a contingency subject to no local control. The inevitable result was a sudden crash in values. Collaterals fell, in the course of a few months, in about the same proportion that the price of labor had already fallen. Banks closed their doors, and brokers, merchants and manufacturers made assignments. Depositors of all classes were hurled indiscriminately into a common vortex of financial ruin. The oppression of labor had borne its legitimate fruit.

The gold and silver of the State, however, had not been removed, but was simply more concentrated. Without lessening the natural productions of the country to any great extent, the people had become impoverished. Capital accumulated in the private money vaults of the millionaires; landed estate had become a drug in the market, and was rapidly falling into the hands of the Chinese speculators who, alone, of the moneyed classes, showed a disposition to take advantage of the condition of the market; while the ruined members of the once thrifty middle class drifted aimlessly about, to reach, at last, the condition of penury and want.

Demonstrations of hostility against the Chinese, on a larger and more determined scale than here-

tofore, were every month becoming more frequent. The people declared, by word and by act, that they should have the protection of the Government against the blighting influence of the Chinese intercourse, or they would precipitate revolution.

Capitalists, and the moneyed combinations generally, for the first time in the history of California, found it imperative to affect a sympathetic interest in the cause of the people. The political machinery of the State was accordingly brought to bear upon Congress, to produce some demonstration against the Chinese invasion, that might lull the apprehensions of the masses. In the prosecution of this plan the influence of Oregon and Nevada was enlisted to second the purpose to be advanced by California. This triumvirate gathered sufficient influence at Washington to obtain for its measure a species of recognition. The result was the introduction of a bill, the terms of which virtually nullified the treaty stipulations of the Burlingame compact.

The temper of the President of the United States toward this bill had been ascertained before its passage was finally determined upon, and when it was known that its objectionable features, viewed in the light of international law, were duly weighed by the President, and that the President's veto might be considered assured, it was quickly passed by both Houses. Upon its submission to

him, the President reviewed the bill at some length, and returned it without his approval.

The action of Congress and of the President had been watched with painful interest by the inhabitants of the Pacific Coast during the progress of this subterfuge, and much acrimonious criticism was directed against the action of the latter by the press and the people of the Pacific States and Territories, who did not stop to inquire how far any other course would have been justified under the Constitution and our treaty obligations, both of which the President is officially bound to maintain.

And now a few words upon this political comedy will be a harmless digression, and not altogether inappropriate in this connection. In the Congress of the United States, the House was at this time under the control of the Democracy, and the Senate under the control of the Republicans. The Presidential election of 1880 was already absorbing much of the attention of Congress, to the neglect —be it said with shame —of matters intimately connected with the material interests of the people. California and Oregon, both doubtful States, must be courted by the politicians who occupied the chairs dedicated to statesmen and to statesmanship at the Capitol. Here now was presented a measure which was evidently popular with the voting population of both States, but unpopular with both parties, neither of which, at this period,

could be said to represent the people as contra-distinguished from the moneyed combinations of the country. A little hypocritical condescension on the part of the Democratic House at this time might secure the electoral vote of two doubtful States for the Democratic candidate for President in 1880. The bill was accordingly drawn up in a manner obnoxious to well recognized principles of international law and common justice, and so artfully withal as to leave it very questionable, to the determination of the uninitiated reader, whether the imputation of intentional intrigue would lie. It passed, with only sufficient opposition to give the whole proceeding the semblance of a decently divided public sentiment upon an important public measure.

The Republican Senate was now thoroughly alarmed. It was placed between two sets of opinions of the bitterest political antagonism, both of which it was called upon to conciliate. Puritanical New England was loud in her denunciation of the measure. She wanted half the Chinese Empire transferred to America, to give occupation to her missionary heroes, and furnish cheap labor for her factories; added to which was that humane fervor that was loud in proclaiming that America, her laws and her policy, were forever dedicated to the elevation of the benighted and oppressed of all lands. New England was emi-

nently Republican, so the opinions and the sympathies of New England were entitled to respect. But, on the other hand, the electoral votes of two doubtful States, if jeopardized through deference to the prejudices of New England, might, and probably would, give the Presidency in 1880 to the Democracy. New England was entitled to respect, but the Presidency must not be given away. The issue was framed, and there was no time for temporizing. The bill must pass the Senate. But, although a Republican Senate was thus driven to the resort of self-stultification, a Republican President was still empowered to save the party from the wrath of New England. The temper of the President as regards the bill was duly ascertained, and the last obstacle was removed. The bill was passed by the Senate, but never became a law; and the States of California and Oregon were relegated to the classification of "doubtful States."

Contrary to that which might have been expected from a hasty view of this circumstance, the hopes of the people thus suddenly and rudely shattered, were not followed by any considerable reaction. The apparent unanimity of sentiment in Congress, in its action on the bill, created an impression in the minds of the people that the country had come to appreciate the magnitude of the evil that rested in the one fact of Chinese immigration; and that early and decisive measures

would be taken to regulate this detail of our foreign intercourse.

At this period it became conspicuously manifest that the Constitution of the State of California was insufficient in the extent and terms of its limitations, to respond to the wants of the people. This instrument had been adopted at a time when the State was sparsely peopled, and before most of the industries that have since grown up had had their origin, even in experiment.

Combinations of capital controlled every avenue of production, politics and trade; and, as ever, the pulpit, also, worshipped at the shrine of capital. Corporations, to secure their aims and purposes, sought to corrupt the people at the ballot-box; and if they failed in this direction, they sought the Legislatures. In their efforts against the people they sometimes failed; but against the Legislature, never.

But the prestige of the new political movement, about this time, infused a new sentiment into the minds of the people. An Act was passed by the Legislature, at its session of 1877–8, to which, indeed, little or no opposition was made by any element of society, and which obtained the approval of the Governor in March, 1878, providing for a convention to frame a new Constitution. In perfecting this reform the utmost expedition was observed. The election for delegates was fixed for the following June, to assemble in convention

in September, and frame a Constitution, to be submitted to the people the following May.

In the election of delegates to this convention, the new party came first conspicuously before the people, and it became evident to the older political organizations that a young giant had stalked into the arena of partisan strife.

Becoming aware that opportunity was now offered to establish principles of government which could not be altered or repealed by legislation in the interest of any class; and, also, as they believed, to regulate Chinese intercourse with the citizen population so as to protect native labor and home industries, the Workingmen struggled with unremitting zeal and industry for the success of their party, through which they had hoped to effect those ends. The result that followed more than justified their most sanguine expectations. They had elected to the convention one-third of the membership of that body.

Their representatives soon took prominence in the matter of incorporating provisions into the instrument under consideration: first, to curb the powers of the corporations which had long since ceased to regard the letter of their charters as the limit of their commercial or business prerogative, and, figuratively, laughed at the efforts of individuals, or communities, to enforce the penalty of forfeiture, upon admitted statutory grounds; and,

in the second place, to grapple with the Coolie labor question.

These delegates were selected not only from the Workingmen's party, but the most efficient among them were chosen from among a large element nominally within the Republican and Democratic parties, but which had, for some time, been at war with the popular corruption which was fostered by what they were led to believe was the partisan dishonesty and political intrigue of the respective parties.

The popularity of the first of these measures proposed in the convention, as evidenced by the active support which it elicited, brought the emissaries of the moneyed interests, in force, to the lobby of the convention. This furnished a new suggestion to the dominant element of the convention, which had resolved to sweep away every trace of the corrupting influence of the past. Lobbying had, heretofore, been the great bane of State legislation; and now it was proposed to make the exercise of that *profession* (for such, indeed, it had become to be recognized) a felony, by constitutional provision. The novelty of the proposition, coupled with its evident usefulness, struck a popular sentiment among the delegates, and it was adopted.

The convention, having placed sufficient civil restrictions upon the power of capital, now turned its attention to the Coolie labor question. For

several weeks this continued to be a theme of earnest discussion. The lobby was crowded with the hired advocates of cheap labor; but every effort to bridle the spirit of reform was met with defiance, and every argument employed by the mercenary advocates fell paralyzed before the stubborn logic of experience, detailed by the champions of the people. Article XIX of the Constitution was at length adopted, prescribing the duties and fixing the obligations of citizens and individuals, whether corporate or natural, in their intercourse with the Chinese residents. Every possible hardship which the people were compelled to suffer through the instrumentality of the Chinese invasion, found a remedy under the broad limitations of this article—unless it should prove, under judicial construction, at conflict with the Constitution of the United States.

The Constitution was, at length, completed, and adopted as a whole, in convention, on the 3d day of March, 1879. Its ratification or rejection, by the people, would be determined in May.

In the determination of this issue, the corporations considered themselves challenged to a conflict by the people and with the people, and accepted the challenge. They began to concentrate their strength for a grand effort, which should crush, at least for the present, this impudent interference with the privileges which they had heretofore enjoyed. Large sums of money were sub-

scribed and placed in the hands of the campaign commission, with headquarters at San Francisco. Banks issued circulars threatening with foreclosure and ruin those who were so unfortunate as to be at their mercy, should they support the New Constitution. Railroad employés were given to understand that their terms of employment were now dependent upon their action regarding the question before the people; while the numerous business establishments that revolved within the orbits of these were compelled to pattern after their stern example—and all this in open defiance of penal statutes. Added to this was a corps of correspondents, with headquarters at San Francisco, which was employed to flood the columns of the country press with adverse criticisms of the New Constitution, and to plausibly and industriously misinterpret its provisions. Newspapers were bought and sold to obtain influential opposition or remove influential advocacy. Public speakers, employed by the same authority, were continually haranguing the people from every rostrum in the State, and predicting the most dreadful calamities that must inevitably follow upon the adoption of the Constitution. The California-street stock market, not inappropriately termed, in Sand-lot oratory, the "Gambling Hell of North America," threw its immense influence into the scale; while the Republican and Democratic parties, flanked by the pulpit of whatsoever shade, completed the array.

A more unholy and incompatible alliance was never before cemented, whether for the subversion of a government or the robbery of a till. But every effort failed. Threats of persecution and promises of reward were alike powerless to fetter those aspirations of individual independence which are the inheritance of every free people. The Constitution was ratified by a majority of ten thousand votes.

The magnitude which the question of "Chinese Coolieism" (as the Constitution quaintly puts it) had now assumed, cannot be better illustrated than by observing, through this struggle, the hold which it had taken upon, and exercised through, the moneyed interests of the State. Cheap labor in mining, manufacturing, husbandry, railroad building, etc., had rendered possible the existence of monopolies in all these departments; and thus, almost directly, built up all those collossal institutions which had, for so long a period of time, administered the affairs of the State government in their private interests.

There was incorporated into the new Constitution nothing that aimed to curb the just and reasonable prosperity of the corporations, dissociated from a prejudicial alliance with a species of slave labor. They were not divested of rights enjoyed by similar corporations in other states; but the laxity or venality of previous legislation upon many of the subjects discussed in the Constitution made

it necessary, in the opinion of the convention, to legislate as well as to limit. But it aimed to destroy the institution of cheap labor by destroying the institution of Coolieism; and the powers which had rooted their opulence in that soil and raised their fabrics of oppressive wealth and political domination above its reeking mass, were intemperate in their mad endeavor to prevent its purification.

They dared not resort to open violence to attain their end, for the people were armed. They saw the political power of the State passing out of their hands, and learned, for the first time, that gold could not purchase the manhood of the citizen who fancied that he discovered through the intrigues of the master the thrall and coffle of the slave.

The spirit that nerved the arm of his sire to conquest, was now kindled into a holy fervor in the son. He loved his country and he loved her institutions; and it was because he loved them so well that he trusted so implicitly the integrity of those whom they had raised to power. But these latter were infidel to their mighty trust. They had drifted a sovereign State to the verge of financial and political ruin, and hurried her people along with it into the very shadows of anarchy and revolution.

THE GOVERNOR OF CALIFORNIA.

CHAPTER III.

CHINESE IMMIGRATION AND IMMIGRANTS——THE WHITE LABORERS BECOME RESTIVE——INTRIGUES OF THE IMPERIAL GOVERNMENT——STATUS OF THE IMMIGRANT——AGENCY OF THE CHINESE COMPANIES——SEWARD FALLS INTO THE LITTLE TRAP SET BY WEIN-SIANG——INDUCEMENTS THAT SUGGESTED CONQUEST——STATESMANSHIP DEFINED AND ILLUSTRATED——AUTHORITY OF THE COMPANIES——LEGAL TECHNICALITIES——THE DEAD COOLIE——MASTER AND SLAVE——MONGOLIAN THEOCRACY.

EMBRACING a period of ten years, up to 1882, Coolie immigration to the United States continued with unabated constancy and vigor. As shown by the preceding chapter, every expedient that seemed calculated to relieve the public distress, in this direction, was fairly tested, and in each instance the effort to achieve any mitigation, conspicuously failed.

On the one hand the Coolie-ridden communities of the Pacific Coast, throughout the States of California and Oregon, were nursing their wrath, in the anticipation that Congress, at its next session, would adopt measures decisive of the controversy. On the other hand, the people of California had confidence that the principles adopted by their new Constitution would successfully grapple with and check, if they did not entirely overthrow, the

project of further importation to our shores of the subjects of the Chinese Empire. There was, therefore, a brief lull in the adverse demonstrations of the people.

Meanwhile, there was not less, perhaps, than half a million of Chinese subjects upon the soil of the United States; and owing to the elaborate scheme of immigration that had been established, and the systematic perfection of its application, the spirit of antagonism it encountered from the masses in America, in no observable degree affected the current of progress.

That this enterprise was in the hands of the Six Chinese Companies, was a fact conceded by all; but beyond this the true character of the scheme seems to have been but little understood.

It was generally accepted as a fact admitted, that the Companies transacted no other business than simply to defray the expense of the importation to the United States, of those of their countrymen who were landed within our ports, pursuant to an agreement made between the emigrant and the Company at home, that the former should reimburse the latter for the outlay occasioned, and should pay, besides, a heavy rate of interest on the money advanced by the Company. It was, for a long time, believed, in the United States, that the contract was mutual and voluntary on both sides.

But statistics collected and laid before the Con-

stitutional Convention in 1878–9 better informed the people as to the nature of this immigration contract. So satisfied was the Convention that the so-called Free Immigration was false in its representation and false in its practice, that that body found it necessary, in order to place the scheme in its true character before the people, to declare, in the fundamental law of the State, that "Asiatic Coolieism is a form of human slavery."

Thus far, the interpretation was eminently correct, but it did not cover the whole ground.

Few, if any, had stopped to inquire how far the governmental authority of China might be interested in this whole question; as the conviction had not yet obtained, that the whole plan of emigration was, as intimated in the last chapter, a scheme of invasion rooted in the purpose, and a part of the programme of the sovereigns of China, to extend her authority throughout "all lands within and without the wide seas."

But this was a feature of the Coolie traffic, the investigation of which did not interest the average American. It was enough that the Coolies were here in oppressive force, and continued to come. It was immaterial to him whether the Six Companies held their charters from the Ta-Tsin government or whether they operated without a charter.

This very important inquiry was neglected—important, because, if it had been understood, at that

day, that Coolieism was indeed a scheme having the sanction of the Chinese government, more vigorous measures would, in all probability, have been adopted for its suppression.

But a declaration to that effect was not to have been expected, officially, from the Chinese government, either now or in the future. If discovered at all, it must be deduced from circumstances occurring here and in China, corroborated by such facts concerning the relation of those Companies to the government as could be gathered from contemporary writings and authentic reports. These abundantly supply all the data necessary to a proper understanding of this question.

It will be conceded that the government of China is officially cognizant of the extent of the emigration of its subjects to the United States; but that country has never felt herself called upon to define the relation which her government bears to the business of the Companies. The knowledge and quiet acquiescence benig thus shown, as admitted, her sanction, and hence her encouragement of the enterprise must, according to every known principle of fair deduction, be implied. Statistics submitted to the Convention and other reports gathered from the writings of American and European residents and travelers in China, abundantly fix the dependent status of the immigrant, on both sides of the Pacific.

From these sources it seems clearly established

that the Chinese officials are empowered to contract, and do contract, with the Companies, for the transportation to America, of the offenders against the laws who have been condemned to imprisonment.

If an official of any government with which we are acquainted should exercise so great a power as this we would not hesitate to conclude that he had acted immediately under the sovereign will; and when we apply this rule to China, which is the most despotic of despotisms, the force of the principle is intensified.

But this argument, the plausibility of which must be admitted, is not the only one that is at hand to maintain the position taken in these pages, to wit: the agency of the Six Companies. Let it be examined from the position occupied by the Companies, and the same view must be maintained. These advance money to defray the expenses of criminals, and others, to the United States. This is done by direct negotiation with the State, through its officers, so far as it applies to the criminals. For reimbursement, the Companies will have to depend upon the good faith of the emigrant. They know well, however, that if the latter should choose to throw himself upon the protection of our laws, the contract cannot be enforced.

But suppose the home government should withdraw from the emigrant the protection of her laws,

and should give to the Companies the right to legislate for him in America; or, in other words, should choose to establish a trans-Pacific government for the emigrant, the difficulty will be overcome, and the government will not be compromised.

This would be nothing more than enlightened England did, in colonial days, upon the shores of the Atlantic; and this is exactly what China has done. That nation has sent neither diplomatic nor consular agents to look after the interests of her subjects, in America. But all such power, and immeasurably more, she has vested in her Six Companies.

When the late Secretary Seward was at Peking, he suggested this oversight, as he supposed the absence of Chinese consular agents, in America, to be, to Wein-Siang, the great statesman of the empire, but that wily barbarian very adroitly changed the subject; and, further, to completely disarm any suspicion of a deeper plot, that might suggest itself to our great Secretary, wrought himself into an alarming fit of melancholy over the deplorable future of the Chinese Empire, which he feared was tottering to ruin. The acting was so perfect that even Mr. Seward was wholly deceived; and made no effort to disguise his sympathy for the fears of the great Chinese statesman. He records the circumstance, in perfect good faith, and as an illus-

tration of the patriotic devotion of this Mandarin, in his "Travels Around the World."

Upon the conclusion of the contract between the government and the Company, the subject is handed over to his new masters, and even his very life is placed at their disposal. We have had abundant instances here, of the power which the agencies of these Companies, at San Francisco, exercise over the lives, liberty and property of the Coolie, all over the State; and this authority is but the exercise of a guaranteed right, from the Chinese Government to the Company, that the contract, of which the Coolie is the subject as well as an element of the consideration, may be enforced as the Company may elect.

But the Companies, in return for the high privileges accorded to them in this particular, pledge themselves, under penalty of the forfeiture of every privilege that they enjoy as such corporations, that the allegiance of the Chinese citizen shall not be transferred. How they have maintained this pledge, and enforced the performance, by the Coolie, of the most oppressive contracts, the star-chamber proceedings of the Chinese quarter of San Francisco, and the story of the hired executioner, could they but be compelled to speak, would abundantly testify.

I have devoted these few pages to the object of making manifest, from a reasonable construction of the actions of men, that the Coolie invasion was

not an afterthought, nor a mere abnormal feature of this immigration to our shores, but that it was, indeed, a deep conspiracy, originating in the subtle mind of Wein-Siang, and seconded by Prince Kung, to give practical direction, in the Nineteenth Century, to a theory of national dominion, which was a dogma of the political creed of China while yet the discovery of the Western World was an event far away in the shadowy future

That the genial climate of the Pacific States, the fabulous treasures of their mountains, and the perpetual summer of the great valleys of California, were the primary inducements which led to the project of conquest; that the scheme was conceived long before the Burlingame treaty was proposed; and that this treaty was the first step practically taken to carry out the stupendous design, must necessarily be admitted by all, who, laying aside the official declarations of statesmen, intended for foreign interpretation, which are always more or less tainted with falsehood, or hypocrisy, and in a great many instances are lit le else, will take into consideration only the actions of those engaged, and measure their aims and purposes by the standard of their conduct, their recognized and reasonable sympathies and the prospective advantage to accrue.

This is the only infallible standard by which to interpret the purposes of statesmen—and, it might be added, all other men. It is because he mani-

fested so much shrewdness and statecraft, and proved himself so successful as a diplomatist, just prior to the late Russo-Turkish war, that the great Russian statesman, Gen. Ignatieff, has been complimented as the "greatest liar in Europe." Again: Beaconsfield is a most profound hypocrite ; and the natural despondency of his inexpressive face, alone saved him from self-betrayal, when, with a timerity born of despair, he declared, in the Berlin Congress, that he did not "come here to yield." This was an utterance of the hypocrisy of statesmanship ; the fear that he would be compelled to yield every demand, alone suggested the startling speech. And he was not less a hypocrite when he remotely intimated, in the same grave assemblage, that half a million, more or less, of armed Sepoys would be among the possibilities of an Anglo-Russian war — which diplomatic thrust brought Count Schouvaloff to his knees.

Ignatieff is a most profound statesman, or, in other words, a most methodical prevaricator of plain truths. Beaconsfield's hypocrisy restored to England, in the brief period of a few months, the prestige which had oozed out of her institutions during half a century of reverses. In like manner Wein-Siang saw nothing in Mr. Burlingame except a most fitting instrument through which to lay the foundation of his contemplated conquest. Nor did he, in truth, entertain a single apprehension that his country, which had become venerable by

its antiquity, was about to disintegrate when, in conversation with Mr. Seward at Peking, he seemed possessed of this tragic fear. But he did wish to leave upon the mind of the first statesman of America the impression that the Chinese was a tottering government, so that no apprehension might be entertained, nor even conceived, that his own country meditated this astonishing enterprise; and in this he, like Beaconsfield, succeeded.

In looking into the attitude of the Chinese government, in this matter, and reading fairly and fully her intentions, in the light of her conduct, the impression of her national perfidy becomes irresistible. Every detail of the great conspiracy is protected with the most consummate skill.

That she might not lose the control of her subjects beyond her dominions, if any should feel disposed to embrace the principles among which they were about to be transported, their life and death were placed at the disposal of the Companies which, as I have shown, she constituted her agents and representatives. These had their tribunals for the enforcement of their authority; and all infractions were visited with capital punishment.

The immigrant was forbidden to become a citizen, or to agitate the matter, independently; and the few attempts at naturalization, which were made by them from time to time, were put forward by the Companies, only to test the temper

of our laws upon this subject, and all else to which it might directly appertain.

It occasionally happened that an independent spirit among the immigrants, thirsting for that liberty of thought and action which characterized the residence of all other nationalities in America, broke through the restraints of the sub-government, started forth upon an independent career and set its authority at defiance. Many instances were known in California in which the spirit of independence led to individual insubordination of this character; but a single instance is not recorded in which the rebel did not pay the penalty with his life. The judicial tribunals of the Companies, sitting in San Francisco, took testimony upon every such case; and when it was satisfactorily established that the reported defection was indeed true, a price was put upon the head of the accused. An executioner was then employed, who received, besides the money appropriated for that purpose, the assurance that the whole power of the particular Company interested, would be employed to protect him from the penalty of the State laws in case he should be brought to answer for murder before the established criminal tribunals; that in case of his conviction and execution, his relatives were to receive a certain fixed sum; and in case of his incarceration, the money should be retained for his use and paid over to him upon his restoration to liberty. In conducting the exe-

cution, he was to use his own discretion, select his own weapons, and appoint his own time and place. In fact, his commission was nothing more nor less than a command to go forth and murder.

The Companies had not failed to observe the leniency of our criminal practice; and so confident had they become of their power to influence the current of justice, that an executioner was always readily obtainable.

The heads of the agency were generally old-time residents of California, who understood our language, and were versed not only in our customs and habits, but were more or less conversant with the spirit and letter of our laws and institutions generally. They had come to understand that law, and not the sword, was the instrument of civilization relied upon by the races of Europe and America. But they understood, likewise, that Gold, and neither Joss nor Jesus, was the deity at whose shrine the restless people of California were wont to bow. They adroitly combined these suggested characteristics, and evolved the inference that gold was above the administration of penal statutes. They accordingly employed the ablest counsel and paid the heaviest attorney fees, as a class, of any people in the State; and hence, they were, as litigants, the most successful.

It rarely happened that the executioners were convicted; and in no instance did any one of them ever suffer the last penalty of the law for his

offence. If a conviction was had, it meant a sentence for life or for years; and if for life, it was equivalent to about five years, but if for years, perhaps half that number; for, at the most unexpected time, and under the most unexpected circumstances, the Gubernatorial pardon was liable to issue, and some obscure Chinaman, convicted of murder, perhaps, would step forth free, while less criminal Caucasians were retained to appease the offended majesty of the statute against sheep stealing, or some public offence equally heinous.

It was in this way that a government within a government was established; or, in other words, that the jurisprudence of China became the law of her people in California.

The relation which the immigrant bore to the Company, its agents and sub-agents, was simply the relation of the slave to his master. On the one hand, the most absolute control; on the other, the most abject submission and servility.

Every town had its duly-appointed agent, whose business it was to keep himself informed as to the demand for Chinese laborers, in whatsoever department; to contract for labor when opportunity offered, and to supply whatever labor might be required by demand upon the rendezvous, at San Francisco. Upon receipt of such requisition the necessary detachment would be forwarded to the particular agent, with orders to report. The Coolies exercised no freedom — no individual

volition—but, upon their arrival at the place of destination, were lodged and maintained until forwarded to the field of labor.

Their discipline, under these circumstances, was perfect. No military restraint, however severe, could establish in the best organized army a greater respect for superiors, or a more implicit obedience of orders. Indeed, the provocation to mutiny was often such as no army of any government with which we are acquainted would have suffered without protest, if it did not openly rebel.

While unemployed, the Coolies were always maintained by the Companies, but in a manner that consulted the largest economy. Their quarters were the cheapest that could be procured; space, alone, as distinguished from convenience, or accommodation, being the sole requisite. In every instance the matter of space, in this application, was economized with the utmost disregard either for the health or the comfort of the unfortunate immigrants. They were huddled together, to sleep upon earthen floors, scantily clothed, and without bedding, and often as many as ten or a dozen individuals to a room, or dungeon, ten feet square and half as many in height. Their food consisted of boiled rice, with tea at intervals.

The inconsistency of human nature is well exemplified in the change which is suddenly wrought in the status of this most abject and persecuted

slave, when for him it comes too late to alleviate the burden of existence, or gladden the face that had never known a smile. No sooner has the Angel of Death dragged perhaps an untarnished soul from its miserable habitation than the despised and neglected vassal of an hour ago becomes an object of reverence and care. His body is accorded a respectable interment, a modest funeral, and a most elaborate burial ceremony; and after the alien soil in which he is placed to rest, has assimilated the elements of his flesh, his bones are disinterred and transported beyond the Pacific to repose beneath the proverbial flowers of his native land.

But, widely different from that of the slave is the picture of the life of the master. Unlike the magnates of our race, however, those of the Mongolian race are not above occupation. The lords of the sub-government are among the great Chinese merchants, importers and manufacturers of San Francisco. Their capacity for business, like their authority, seems illimitable. Little is known of their domestic life, however—as their homes, as a rule, are sacred from intrusion—beyond the fact that it is luxurious, but without any pretence to show.

They have invariably vanquished opposition in every department of trade or manufacture in which they have succeeded in educating their people; and no sooner has this success been

achieved in one department than their energies are directed to new fields.

Thus, the whole manufacturing interests of the State were rapidly passing into their hands; and it became only a question of time until the absorption of all the other branches of industry would, in like manner, be effected.

The theological views of the Coolie, are about as incomprehensible as his social and political peculiarities. That he is devout, there can hardly be a question; but his devotion seems to be the embodiment of inconsistency. His theoretical standard of religion and morals will do; but their practical exercise and application are quite intolerable. Their religion, they say, is a pure Deism; and so it is, perhaps. But how this is exercised by the persistent worship of nondescript figures of impossible beings, or by the noisy annual festival which is said to have been originally instituted, and is still observed, for the purpose of conciliating familiar devils, is somewhat difficult to explain.

In politics and morals, the wise sayings and lofty precepts of Confucius are the example to be imitated. But here, again, the perverse antagonism of the practice which adopts demonology as the rule by which to worship God, is manifested. The justice, the clemency, the virtue, which Confucius taught by principle and exemplified by his intercourse with his fellow men, are topics upon which the educated Mongolian loves to dwell.

And yet that one of them who is armed with authority is the very incarnation of injustice, oppression and sexual vice. In fact, in these particulars he is unconscionable. But his wickedness is not appreciated, because it is not resisted; and it requires opposition to make public, and hence notorious, the exercise of any, even the blackest, private vice.

In this brief examination of the Chinese institutions in America, it has been sought to avoid too much detail; as a very general review of the subject of Chinese immigration to the Pacific States, and only sufficient detail to throw light upon the manner in which it was conducted, and not a history of Chinese institutions in America, is the purpose of this chapter.

Enough has been said to show that under this oppressive system of protection the hordes of Asia established themselves upon the Continent of America, and that their establishment here was in pursuance of a scheme, having the sanction and the active support of the Chinese government, for the conquest of the whole Western Hemisphere of the globe.

CHAPTER IV.

PARTISAN STRIFE AND SECTIONAL ANTAGONISM——THE GROWTH AND DECAY OF GOVERNMENTS——REPUBLICS AND MONARCHIES CONTRASTED——WHAT WASHINGTON KNEW ABOUT PARTIES——RECONSTRUCTION——DECAY OF INDEPENDENT THOUGHT——PUBLIC EXTRAVAGANCE——CHARTERED RIGHTS CONSTRUED——FRAGMENTARY DEMORALIZATION——THE JUDICIAL SYSTEM——RESPECTABLE FELONY——POLITICAL ECONOMY.

HAVING, in the preceding chapters, followed the general course of the Coolie immigration, from its origin down to the present date, with the view of presenting a comprehensive picture of the entire plan, it will now become necessary to an intelligent appreciation of the remaining chapters of this work, that a brief review be had of the tendency of the political parties in the United States. The attitude of these will be shown to have operated to draw aside the attention of the government from matters of great moment, including the subject immediately in hand, and their energies to have been wasted in the organization of measures and the perfection of schemes alien, alike, to the policy of good government and the welfare, wants and requirements of the people.

In the light of historical observation and the logic of experience, it must be conceded that gov-

ernments, like all else that has been brought within, and subjected to, the scope of the human understanding, have their periods of beginning and progress, of maturity and decay. The history of Republics shows that these periods are shorter in their case than are those assigned to Monarchies; and, it has happened, that the more absolute the Monarchy, the more protracted is the term of its national life.

This is not only a logical sequence, but it is, likewise, a fact taught us by experience. It is logical, for the reason that perpetual sameness is the characteristic of death in nature; while in art it is the most insipid and unpopular of all appearances.

Monarchies change their laws, customs, and often their literature at every succession, without affecting the general form of their government. This fact is well attested in the history of Monarchical France, from the reign of Henry IV, down to the Revolution, and perhaps equally so in that of England, while yet two rival houses were contending for her throne. Monarchies they were, and continued to be; but every successive reign brought forward changes in the laws and manners of the country that remodeled nearly every institution that marked their subordinate political complexions. These entire periods, although influenced and colored, at intervals, by the views of each sovereign, respectively, were always wrought out,

hastened or delayed by the temper of the people, their enlightenment and their patriotism.

Where hardships and oppressions may have grown up under a particular reign, the masses look forward with confidence to the accession of a new potentate, through whom relief is confidently expected. Buckle tells us that the French people were "wild with joy at the death of Louis XIV," which was simply the expression of a hope of better things under the succeeding reign.

The sentiment upon which this hope is based, is by no means hampered in its resources. If it cannot look forward to an inevitable change, through which the removal of the burden may, reasonably, be expected, it will manifest itself by an exercise of energy in some other direction. This is, usually, the energy of armed rebellion.

But, in a Republic, the people being the depository of all political power, if abuses fasten themselves upon her institutions, they are properly understood to be the deliberate creation of one or the other of the political parties into which the people of a Republic are always divided. And when that party which happens to control the administration seeks to perpetuate those abuses and its own ascendancy at the same time, and to do so employs the whole of the vast patronage of official position, a deep and dangerous disaffection is inevitably planted in the minds of the people.

Unlike the case of the succession of a Prince,

which is as inevitable as the death of his predecessor, there is no certainty that the party in power will allow the reins of government to pass out of its hands. This uncertainty, combined with the intolerance of party dictation, becomes, first, galling and then, insupportable; and, in the absence of a hope upon which to base a definite purpose of reform, revolution sets in to overshadow the glory of Republican freedom.

The great "Father of his Country" was wiser than he knew when he penned the following, which is found in his "Farewell Address," at the close of his second Presidential term. He says:

"I have already intimated to you the danger of parties in the State, with particular reference to the founding of them on geographical discriminations. Let me now take a more comprehensive view, and warn you in the most solemn manner, against the baneful effects of the spirit of party, generally. The spirit, unfortunately, is inseparable from our nature, having its roots in the strongest passions of the human mind. It exists under different shapes in all governments, more or less stifled, controlled or repressed, but in those of the popular form it is seen in its greatest rankness, and is truly their worst enemy. The alternate domination of one faction over another, sharpened by the spirit of revenge, natural to party dissension, is itself a frightful despotism. But this leads, at

length, to a more formal and permanent despotism * * * and, sooner or later, the chief of some prevailing faction, more able or more fortunate than his competitor, turns this despotism to the purpose of his own elevation, on the ruins of public liberty."

If the aggregate of the history of the United States, during the entire period that has elapsed since the death of Washington, would show any one national tendency with special distinctness, that tendency would be the disposition to contravene this wise injunction with the most scrupulous particularity; and this, notwithstanding the historical affirmation that it is only by the exercise of the most absorbing and jealous patriotism that a Republic can ever hope to be perpetuated beyond the legitimate period of experiment.

At the close of the first century of Republican independence, the United States had passed through her periods of beginning, progress and maturity; and the beginning of the second century saw them placed upon the incline of decay. Partisan bigotry and lust of power had so thoroughly obscured those lofty principles of justice and moderation, which are the very life and essence of Republican institutions, that the States which had been crushed by the overthrow of the Rebellion, sixteen years before, were still impoverished and undergoing the galling process of

reconstruction by the coersive power of the Federal Army.

The pretence by which this monstrous abuse of power was sought to be justified, was as base as the scheme itself. The conquered States were overrun by Revenue officers, marshals, etc., and, during the period of their disfranchisement, by Territorial civil officers, as Governors, Judges, etc., far beyond the necessities of the Government, and who were often so indiscreet as to provoke unnecessary broils by the insolent exercise of doubtful authority. These men were invariably selected from the most ultra wing of the dominant party. Their integrity to party, and infidelity to all else, without regard to their qualifications, in other particulars, was generally the standard of their fitness to govern an unreconstructed State, or to interpret the laws to her people. In short, their administration, with few exceptions, was as infamous in practice, as their political creation was in theory.

The principal public journals of the country were subsidized, and hence controlled, by this nondescript political despotism. It likewise controlled the various lines of telegraph throughout the Union; and, in fact, every private enterprise which could be said to incorporate a public use, was, for the time, obedient to the beck of the dominant political party.

It followed, of necessity, that the party in power had supervisory control of all the avenues of pub-

lic and quasi-public communication. Its political agents, the officials appointed to the conquered States, manufactured *ad libitum* the most incredibly atrocious social and political character for the people who had been wicked enough to rebel against the Government while it was comparatively virtuous, and unfortunate enough to survive the frustration of their criminal design.

The reports so manufactured, passing only through avenues which were more disposed to aggravate than to modify, were scattered broadcast over the Union, and were the means by which the armed reconstruction of the Southern people was sought to be justified.

To strengthen the power of the ruling party, by extending the patronage of the Government, new offices were created, old ones were multiplied.

Millions of acres of the public domain were donated to railroad corporations, ostensibly to encourage public improvements. Unquestionably, those grants had this direct tendency, but the advantage thus gained was more than counterbalanced by the check occasioned to settlement and colonization.

From this cause, throughout the Western States and Territories, and from the existence, in California, Arizona and New Mexico, of those immense landed estates which were originally granted by the King of Spain, or by the Mexican government, to individuals, and which had continued in the pat-

entees or their successors, under the treaty, there arose a system of land monopoly, chiefly in California, which virtually repealed the beneficent laws heretofore passed, for regulating settlement upon the public domain and granting extraordinary privileges to actual settlers.

The ownership by individuals and corporations, of those princely estates, gave rise to new political disturbances. The prerogative of taxation raises a question that can never fail to elicit the interest of the citizen of every shade of opinion. Should there happen, from any cause, to be a class disproportion in the contribution to the expenses of the government, it cannot be concealed; and argument, to justify any such discrimination, will be worse than ineffectual. Controversy upon the unequal valuation of lands began to excite the popular discontent. The holders of vast areas of unproductive land could not afford to pay the tax rate levied in proportion to the scale by which improved lands were assessed. Nor would the inducement to lucrative speculation admit of any disposition of land so held, as long as the condition of the market indicated an upward tendency.

It, therefore, became necessary to the land monopolist that the Assessors and the Boards of Equalization be, at once, placed under his control. The engines of partisan intrigue were, accordingly, set in motion, and soon ground out the necessary decree.

In California, landed estates embracing many square miles of territory, were usually assessed at a rate of from one-fifth to one-tenth of the estimated value of contiguous lands of the same quality and class, but which had been cultivated or improved; and yet these broad acres were held at a market, or speculative, value, ranging from twenty to thirty-fold that at which they were assessed. As this discrimination was, virtually, a tax upon industry, it was well calculated to array the producing class, not only against the immediate acts complained of, but, likewise, against the political system and the political institutions which could dare to tolerate and exercise an injustice so oppressive, without even the semblance of disguise.

In the matter of transportation, every class of carrier, whether by land or sea, learned to regard the charter, under the authority of which it was presumed to act, simply as a license to carry freight or passengers. In all else, the conduct of each corporation was regulated with a view to the largest profits obtainable, and often in utter disregard of all chartered rights, privileges, restrictions or limitations. Combinations between carriers were frequently formed; and the pooling of rates and the discriminations against persons, or localities, were a source of constant discord and public controversy.

In vain was every effort of the people to reform those abuses, whether by State or Federal legi-

lation. Party platforms, whether National or State, were always profuse with the most solemn declarations of reform and retrenchment. That each party aimed to "restore popular government, in fact as well as in theory," had grown into a figure of speech; and although the representatives of the people went forth to the halls of legislation, thus sacredly pledged to alleviate the burdens of the people, they were unable to withstand the inducements, held out, to betray; and so failed to redeem a single plighted obligation. The creature had become the master of its creator; for combinations of capital ruled the State and Federal governments; and these latter, by holding the assurance of their party ascendancy from the former, were willing to be the servants, and to allow the corporations to indirectly legislate for themselves. This species of reflex action they had the effrontery to denominate "Government by the People."

The struggle between contending factions at length ran so high that the President elected by one political party was refused his seat, as such Chief Magistrate, by the rival party. Strange as it may seem to the reader who is unacquainted with the national characteristics of the American people, this last act of partisan cupidity failed to kindle the fire of civil war; nor was there left, within the ranks of the offending party, sufficient political disinterestedness to acknowledge a wrong,

in this direction, or to brand the proceeding with the mark of party condemnation.

In all the other departments of the government, the work of demoralization progressed apace. A protective system was established and maintained which did open violence to the plainest and most universally admitted principles of political economy. Foreign manufactures, except articles which, in the nature of things, could not be produced in America, were virtually excluded. Nor was home production proportionately encouraged; for the imposts laid upon manufactures was a burden far more oppressive than foreign competition under a liberal protective system. The result was an indirect but galling system of taxation, by which the rate levied was paid the moment any article of production or manufacture became the property of the consumer.

It was a most consummate scheme, but poorly disguised, to crush down the whole dependent element of society, and to elevate all those who might be so fortunate as to exercise an independent calling.

Meanwhile, a debt of more than two billions of dollars hung like a nightmare above the couch upon which were wont to repose the hopes and aspirations of the people; but repose, for national industry, were an impossibility under the eye of this mocking spectre.

This great national debt, secured by bonds pay-

able, principal and interest, in gold, was admirably calculated to drain the resources of the country.

Auxiliary institutions to aid in the work of government, was the hobby of the statesmen of that period. It mattered but little whether the direct tendency of the new institution was to encourage or to oppress the people so long as it was, strictly, a party measure, and promised to contribute toward the perpetuation of party ascendency. It was enough that there was a sphere of action to which an institution might be adapted. The National Bank scheme was evolved from some such sentiment as this.

This was an institution incorporated under a Federal statute; and, viewed in its broadest sense, it was subject to every objection that goes to the theory of perpetual motion. Its energy was the energy of the government; its capital the capital of the government; its credit the credit of the government; while, of itself, it lacked even the power of motion,—and yet it was deemed useful. Its capital invested in government bonds, it was relieved from the burden of taxation, other than a mere nominal rate by way of duty. It was authorized, however, to do a general banking business, to discount loans, collect rates of interest, etc., according to the rates established by the laws of the State in which such bank was situated.

This institution was constituted the avenue through which the Treasury of the United States

communicated with the commerce of the country. It was endowed with extraordinary privileges and armed with extraordinary power over the flow of the currency of the country, and maintained in luxury by the moneys wrung from the necessities of the commercial population.

Another abuse peculiar to this age was the matter of official salaries. These were upon the most extreme scale, when considered in connection with the standard of wages paid by private employers. This was specially noticeable in the Western States and Territories. A single term in a very ordinary elective office, in most of the Pacific States, was equivalent to a modest fortune bestowed upon the incumbent.

Next, litigation became a luxury in which only the wealthy could indulge. The fees payable in the most ordinary action or proceeding, in the courts, became so oppressive that only men in easy circumstances could afford to have their rights vindicated by proceedings in the tribunals of justice. This placed in the hands of the more powerful a means of oppression which the indigent were made to feel, but against which there was, for them, no remedy possible. The commonest controversy could be determined only by courts of competent jurisdiction, but these were barred against the very class which, more than all others, needed their sustaining aid.

Abuses of trust, in official position, had become

so common, that it seldom happened that a public officer retiring from position left behind him a stainless record.

The opposition press, of the times, was always energetic in exposing partisan and political infidelity, and the charge of dishonest practices became so familiar to the reader of the daily publications, of the time, that the people no longer seemed to expect integrity in their public officers, but sought to give position to those who would prove least extravagant in the exercise of the dominant passion. Every succession in office exposed a new series of defalcations, which were followed by the usual arrests, examinations, commitments, indictments, demurrers, continuances and final dismissals. The great engines of the law were never allowed to remain idle while an embezzler was at large. It was absolutely necessary that he make his bow to the defrauded public through a committing magistrate and a grand jury. This generally sufficed, however; for the hand of justice was always readily checked before the trial of the criminal could be had.

It seemed, in truth, that general political demoralization had fastened itself upon the ruling spirit of the people. They were divided into two great parties, differing, originally, upon great principles of constitutional construction and governmental method. The degenerate organizations that bore the names of those great parties had lost sight

of all this; and not one in every one thousand of the leading politicians of the day could define the principle upon which his party was presumed to differ from the other. They seemed imbued with no other instincts than stupid partisan antagonism, and a passion for public plunder; and if they sought to retain the Republic intact, it was only that they might plunder it still. It was, in short, the festival of capitalists, banks, railroads, land monopolists, stock gamblers, corporations of every shade, defaulters, embezzlers, paupers, hoodlums and tramps, — the last two of which were creatures of, and peculiar to, the abuses of the period.

To all these peculiarities of practical life was added the further moral fact, that the spirit of the people was fast forming itself to correspond with the adaptations of the age. That groveling spirit which is sometimes betrayed by certain individuals when brought into the presence, or actual contact, of those whom they are ignorant enough to believe superior to themselves, and which is a class characteristic in most of the Monarchies of Europe, was becoming painfully manifest in the ordinary intercourse of the people. This was especially noticeable in the homage paid to public officials. These might be, and frequently were, men of very limited capacity, in private life and intrinsically; but, elevated to position, by the exigencies of partisan conflict, they at once became men of rare

understanding, in the estimation of those often their political enemies. This, it will be said, is human nature, and a small matter in itself. All this may be true, but, aside from its significance in the present connection, it is a useful observation, as showing that the instinct of individual independence in mankind, is but little affected by the march of events; and that to the justice born of race enlightenment, and not to a developed individuality materially differing from that of his ancestors of past centuries, is the man of to-day indebted for the liberty to which he was born, in the Nineteenth Century.

It should hardly be necessary to add that all the abuses which have fastened themselves upon the institutions of the American Union in this age, are the direct and the legitimate result of the great contentions growing out of partisan differences. It is a significant fact that all those combinations that wield vast political influence are always in harmony with the party in power; always conducting its political campaigns and electing its nominees to office. In return for services of this nature the party confers upon its benefactor a silent license to draw from the people its reward; to paralyze every industry, if necessary, to the gratification of its avarice or the enforcement of its ambitious designs.

The foreign commercial policy of the government and its internal dissensions, were alike preg-

nant with danger to the Republic; but these were matters of secondary interest in the minds of the American statesmen. Either, those questions had not occurred to them, or they had so occurred and were overshadowed by the one great question of partisan domination. In vain that the people petitioned Congress for relief; in vain that the Legislatures of the States were appealed to; in vain that they exacted of their representatives the most earnest pledges to support measures dictated by the necessities of the hour; in vain that our once extensive commerce no longer flecked the ocean with her sails; in vain even the incursion of the barbarian horde of Asia to enslave an already impoverished people,—all vain; for the necessary remedy was ever wanting, and remedies, if presented at all, must be dictated by party expediency, and by that alone.

And such was the condition of American politics, and such the tendency of the classes and factions—political, social and civil—while the State was menaced by dangers that only concert of purpose and of action, throughout every element of the people, could hope to avert.

CHAPTER V.

IMMIGRATION BECOMES INVASION——A DEDUCTIVE HISTORY——CAUSE AND EFFECT——THE ATTITUDE OF ALL PARTIES——THE MASSES BECOME THREATENING AND DEFIANT——THE COOLIE MAKES PREPARATIONS——LEGISLATION UNDER CALIFORNIA'S NEW CONSTITUTION——A GRAIN OF CONSOLATION——THE PLAN OF COLONIZATION——NEW ENGLAND AND THE SOUTH INVITE THE COOLIE——CAUSES AFFECTING POPULATION——PLATFORMS AND PLATITUDES ——INSTITUTIONS THAT BEGIN TO TOPPLE——THE COOLIE STRIKES FOR CIVIL RIGHTS.

THE preceding chapters have brought the history of the Chinese immigration down to the date of this writing, but it does not, for that reason, become necessary to close this volume, or to abridge the subject which it proposes to treat,—simply because the future interposes an obstacle to the recordation of occurrences that have actually taken place.

That history repeats itself is a truism that has obtained intelligent recognition, notwithstanding the contradictions which the brief occurrences of a single lifetime so often disclose. The experiences of a human life are inadequate to prove any great law; but the aggregate experience of many lives will never fail to discover a general repetition of all the essential changes that have stamped their impress upon the history of the human race.

Statistics gathered and observations made, abundantly show that there is a law of progress, as determinate in its direction as is the accumulation of years to the goal of a century. That the perceptible operation of this law is nothing more than the legitimate effects produced by the operation of existing causes, or causes that have existed, is now as well established as that the orbital motions of the heavenly bodies are the agencies which tend to explain the recurrence of the solar or lunar eclipse.

In the preceding chapters have been examined the ruling agencies which operated in two of the largest and most important countries of the globe, extending over a period of twenty years. This examination would justly be deemed imperfect, or incomplete, if the history of the internal economy of those States were the object of this review; but such it is not, and it is amply sufficient for its purpose; to explain the one great movement, the success or failure of which must involve the absorption of a State and the extinction of its civilization, or the frustration of a scheme of conquest that stands unparalleled in the annals of the human race.

There is no fact wanting in this inquiry from which to deduce a comprehensive history of the future, extending over, at least, a period of time equal to that from which the data has been collected. The conditions of both States politically,

socially and civilly, and their minute interrelation have been ascertained; and now, the effects which must, in the ordinary course of human events, operate from without; the manifest tendency of both peoples; the causes which cast these tendencies and which must ordinarily continue to operate in a determinate direction until the energies liberated for the purpose, and employed, shall have been expended; the limit of exhaustion and all that will have been accomplished before it shall have been attained,—these, all, are but the recital of the effects which ordinary comprehension, aided by industrious inquiry, is amply capable of deducing from sufficient data. They are as much the ascertainment of an effect from an intelligent understanding of a given cause, as is the calculation of the eclipse, or the recurrence of the tides.

Taking these data, therefore, and arguing from them, in the light of historical experience tempered by the spirit of the age and the hopes, passions, prejudices and interests of individuals and states, it becomes a matter of obvious easiness, and one requiring the exercise of no mystical attribute, or superhuman prevision, to forecast, with considerable precision, the general outline of the events that remain to be enacted upon the world's stage, to the contemporary applause of generations as yet unborn.

For the purposes of this history, the Burlingame Treaty, which was ratified in 1869, will be adopted

to mark an epoch, by which to enter upon the march of events.

At the date to which this point of history has descended, viz.: the opening of the second decade, there were two measures emanating from the people, in slow, progressive action, arriving at the suppression of Chinese immigration. One of these consisted in the opening of diplomatic correspondence with China, with a view to the regulation of Coolie immigration; and the other, a provision embodied in the New Constitution of the State of California, pretending to give power to the Legislature to adopt such Police regulations as might suffice to grapple with the popular hardship.

Pending a consummation in one or the other of these two directions, whence relief was sought, a condition of passiveness settled down upon the popular tumult. Race antagonism had not, however, in any measure abated. The idle workingman was very far from satisfied to see his family suffering for the common comforts of life, while the source from which he had been accustomed to derive his livelihood was controlled by Coolie labor. But there was nothing in the deportment of the masses to indicate the deep hostility that rankled in the public mind, or the energy that slumbered in the popular tranquility. But the student of human nature, who had watched the current of events for the lapse of a few years, would not be guilty of an error of judgment so

gravè as to accredit to popular acquiescence the absence of demonstrative opposition.

The disaffected populace throughout all this period, never relaxed their military preparations, which were conducted without any ostentatious exhibition, and for that reason were, perhaps, the more impressive. But their force was slowly, but surely and gradually decreasing. The necessities of life compelled many to seek for support in new fields. The cities of California offered no fields for labor, which left no alternative but emigration for the great bulk of those who sought to support their families by their daily earnings.

The Great West no longer seemed pregnant with a wealth of labor. Crowded from within the city boundaries, the white artisan saw only a cheerless prospect for forcing even a scanty existence from the soil. Unskilled in an art peculiar to another department of labor, he could not hope for success under conditions of climate, soil, and competition, which had rendered abortive the efforts of hundreds of experts in husbandry. They had made the effort and failed, and around and about the scene of his observations, others were failing, daily. They were gradually passing eastward—choosing rather the certainties and severities of the Atlantic sea-board, than the gentle but seductive uncertainty of the Pacific slope. He, too, must return; and so, burying forever in the grave of bitter disappointment all the buoyant as-

CHINESE MANDARINS IN WASHINGTON.

pirations of his sanguine youth and independent manhood, the subdued pioneer breathed a farewell curse upon the nation of the invaders, and with the scanty remnant of what was once a competence, looked his last upon the seductive glory of a Pacific landscape.

The time for Congressional action was drawing nigh. This would test the sincerity of the Federal government, in the assurances heretofore given to the people and exemplified by the former measure which had fallen under the Presidential veto. The Cabinet was in session, and measures to be recommended in the Presidential message were under consideration.

As the action of Congress would be largely influenced, upon the subject of Chinese immigration, by the facts, or circumstances, embodied in the message, the probable contents of that instrument became the theme of most anxious speculation. The prevailing opinion was that the President would discountenance any interference by Congress, in a measure which, he had already indicated, ought to be adjusted by diplomatic negotiations, conducted by both governments.

The message thus foreshadowed, and widely circulated, had somewhat prepared the public mind for the reception of its recommendations, which, had they been suddenly announced, might have precipitated riot. But the instrument itself soon appeared. It pointedly discountenanced and dis-

couraged any action by Congress before the apparent complications should have been duly submitted and tested by diplomatic correspondence already under way, and which promised to lead to a pacific and honorable settlement of the difficulty before the people. The manner in which this message was laid before the country seemed to pluck the sting of its disappointment; and having failed to excite to acts of violence, it tended to the opposite course by precipitating gloomy distrust and silent apprehension. That Congressional action would be postponed, or, if had at all, that it would be in conformity with the views conveyed in the message, no one seemed to entertain a doubt; and that such course, under less aggravating circumstances, would have been eminently proper, and consistent with the true spirit of diplomacy, no one cared to question.

But the masses saw only that the element of uncertainty which had entered into the remedy placed the time to which they had looked forward with hope, beyond the range of definite calculation. Such were the considerations that preyed upon the public mind upon the Pacific coast, and yet failed to incite to action. From this last extreme the people were restrained by the conviction that their Constitution would effect, indirectly, all that the Federal government had failed to do directly.

As had been anticipated, however, Congress adjourned without adopting any measures, what-

ever, touching the subject of Chinese immigration; and so far as the Federal government was concerned, the subject was doomed to drag its tedious course through the meshes of diplomatic adjustment.

The Chinese Immigration Companies were not inattentive spectators of the conflicting local opinions to which the consideration of this question had given rise. They readily caught up the popular embarrassment, and with characteristic shrewdness availed themselves of the inactivity of the opposition, to pour into the State a continuous torrent of immigration.

But they saw, too, that a systematic course of military discipline had been inaugurated among the people, and they were not ignorant of its real import; but if they felt alarm, it was artfully disguised. That it threatened danger to the Chinese residents of the Pacific coast, and that the uprising might take place at any moment, were speculations affirmatively supported by numberless facts and circumstances occurring every day; and that only the power of the State would avail to crush such an insurrection, and prevent a bloody conflict of races, was a result equally obvious.

The Companies had matured the conviction that their countrymen in San Francisco, if placed upon the defensive, were numerically capable of making an obstinate and powerful resistance; and so they determined that they should not be slaughtered

unresistingly, when the hour of conflict should arrive. They, accordingly, set to work, very calmly and deliberately, to place their people in a position for self defense. The sub-government ordered that every man should procure, and carry about his person, such arms as he could best employ, in case of emergency. Revolving pistols were specially recommended. Men were instructed to devote sufficient time to the inspection and study of those weapons, to become skillful in their use. The implicit obedience of the Coolie to those who have constituted themselves his masters, was specially noticeable in the present instance. It was, in this case, the performance of a duty under the stimulus of fear; and under the influence of these dual incentives, the poor rabble set about the work of arming themselves with the utmost dispatch consistent with the due dissimulation of their fears, to the observance of which strategic hypocrisy they had been specially enjoined. Those unable to bear the expense of fire-arms, furnished themselves with knives, or other weapons of a like character; but this failed to satisfy the watchful care of the Companies. They accordingly deemed it necessary to extend the sub-governmental aid to the procurement of more dangerous weapons, and hence issued portable fire-arms to nearly every man upon their lists. This work was quickly and effectively accomplished, so that every laundry in San Francisco, and many

in other cities of the State, were converted into as many fortresses, of which the inmates were instructed to fight, to death itself, if necessary, for their own protection against whatsoever acts of lawless violence they might be called upon to resist.

The first Legislature of California, organized under the new Constitution of that State, was somewhat conservative in the adoption of legislation touching the Coolie question. Certainly, the Constitution, by a fair interpretation of its terms, would fully guarantee measures much more radical and aggressive, in this direction, than any that had been enacted. This was largely, if not entirely, owing to the fact that the moneyed interests of the State—familiary known as the "monopolies"—had reorganized their political forces after the slight oversight, or inattention, by which they had allowed the masses to carry the late constitutional campaign to a successful issue, and by concerted action once more succeeded in placing their chosen representatives in the State Legislature.

The body so elected in more than one particular ignored the fundamental law of the State, and disappointed the people by failing to adopt the necessary acts of legislation to give operative force to some of the most radical principles laid down by the Constitution. The people began to charge that they had been further betrayed by the monopolists; and, for a time, the Coolie aggrava-

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tion was lost sight of in the fervor of class animosity and recrimination.

Following this stage of the political controversy, there was but one consideration that could be clearly interpreted as tending to defer the inauguration of revolutionary measures. It was this: The Constitution embodied the provisions, that the general elections throughout the State should be held on the even-numbered years; and that certain named offices should have a term of two years. But as the Constitution was adopted in 1879, an odd-numbered year, and as the first general election under its provisions was fixed for September of the same year, it followed that the officers then elected should hold office for one year less than the absolute term of every such officer. The term of office of members of the Assembly being two years, those elected in 1879 would be succeeded by others to be elected in 1880. Hence, the election to take place within a few months would determine the complection of the next Legislature. If this should seem favorable to the purposes and claims of the working classes, which would be determined by their success, or failure, to elect their candidates, then it would be highly politic to defer the inauguration of extreme measures, and leave the whole matter to be determined by legislative enactments, still. But should the advocates of Coolie immigration again carry the elections, and thus control the

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Legislature in their interest, as heretofore, then, and in that event, the expediency of a resort to the last right of a people, could hardly be questioned.

Under this resolve, the public mind once more became settled as to every apprehension of immediate acts of violence on the scale of rebellion; but so far did this sentiment fall short of restoring confidence to the people, that values continued to fall, and remained so depressed that the State became, to an unprecedented extent, the purchaser of lands and homesteads, which were suffered to go to sale to satisfy her claims for delinquent taxes.

The laboring classes now began to reorganize their party, with greater care and industry than heretofore, for what many of them apprehended might be their last political effort in California. Their party organization had already established for itself political recognition throughout all the cities and towns of the State, but the country districts were not so well organized in its support. An active canvass was therefore instituted, which occupied the whole attention of the party; and again the Coolie was left for a time to the undisturbed enjoyment of his industrious callings.

Throughout all this turmoil, one pursuit of the sub-government, and by far the most important and suggestive, was not, for a moment, overlooked or neglected. This was the practical work of im-

migration. Every steamer from the East landed its hundreds of Coolie immigrants at San Francisco, while Chinese junks, and other sailing craft, landed their human cargoes at all the sea-ports of California and Oregon. The State was rapidly filling up with this element; so much so, that from the most reliable statistics that could be obtained it was shown that the Chinese residents of California made up more than one-third of the whole male population of the State.

About this time the scheme of immigration developed a new phase. Another step had been taken in the great scheme of colonization. The Companies had begun to extend their labor contracts east of the Rocky Mountains. Large detachments of laborers were sent, from time to time, not only to the Middle and Western States and the Territories, but even New England had voluntarily risked her cherished forms of Christian observance by inviting contact with the invincible heathen element. She ordered, and had imported, to further pauperize her laboring myriads, an experimental remittance of the Coolie laborers.

But the field that held out the most flattering promise to that wonderful people was the whole territory which had lately comprised the slave States. The Coolie had been tried and found to be in every manner superior to the Negro. Added to this, the former had not, as yet, developed a taste for politics; while the latter, growing from

bad to worse, had finally advanced to such a stage of political development, that the time and attention which he should devote to labor was thrown away in the fruitless effort to ape the partisan intrigues of his white exemplars.

The demand for Coolie labor was growing so rapidly in this direction, that it promised to soon invite further supply. For the present, the established industries of California could maintain no greater Chinese population. Every department of labor was glutted, and to give further employment new industries must be created or old ones multiplied. All, or nearly all, the available lands lying in the neighborhood of towns or cities were already in the hands of the Coolie cultivators, either as the owners, in fee, or tenants of citizens who were compelled to abandon the pursuits of husbandry under the pressure of Coolie competition.

While no effort was made to create new industries, the pursuit of agriculture was gradually rising in favor; but the development in this direction was not sufficient to accommodate the rapid increase of population. Internal immigration had become a necessity to the march of events; so that the Pacific Slope soon ceased to limit the servient territory upon which the charge of Coolieism was imposed.

The coil of the Asiatic serpent was gradually encircling the entire body of the victim, now virtually within its grasp. The touch was not yet so

rude as to startle, nor so real as to horrify ; but the danger was only the more imminent that it was so well disguised. The day was not far distant when the constrictor would relax its folds to feast upon the noble captive that too long had dallied with its shrinking touch, and invited its deadly embrace.

California was not yet reduced in theory, but in fact her industries had passed out of the hands of her citizens, and she was gradually becoming the distributing point whence the institution of Coolieism should be extended throughout the whole Republic.

The white population no longer continued to increase ; white immigration had ceased ; and the causes, which under a healthy system at home, would have operated to swell the population, had likewise terminated ; for, marriage had almost fallen into disuse. Laboring men would not assume the responsibilities of the marriage relation, in the face of the uncertainties that prevailed ; and homes and families became an impossibility. The semi-barbarous "tramp" and "hoodlum," were all that was left to represent a generation whose ancestors had conquered a wilderness to build up a State, which was the first to carry modern civilization to the Pacific shores of the American continent—a pitiful mockery of a glorious memory.

The result of the election of 1880 inspired fresh hopes in the minds of the masses throughout California. Not only the indigent laborer, but many

among the wealthy citizens of the country, whose patriotism was still superior to their avarice, had begun to watch and study with secret alarm the intrenchment of the institution of Coolieism. Accordingly, when the masses had announced, as one of the principles of the party, that their candidates, particularly those aspiring to the Legislature, should pledge themselves to use every honorable and lawful means to carry into effect the full spirit and intent of Article XIX of the Constitution, they happened to touch upon a sentiment rapidly growing in popularity. Their leading men were not slow in perceiving this slight promise of an advantage, and unreservedly pledged themselves, as did all aspirants to office, through this party, to make this one object paramount to all others.

The utter boldness, and entire absence of compromise or equivocation, on the part of their public men, was a diversion which could be relished by a people who had grown weary of the empty platitudes of the average political assemblages of the day — from the group of politicians at the street corner, to the Senate itself. The new spirit seemed to arouse a sentiment which, had it sprung forth to shake the political structure ten years earlier, as it now seemed destined to do, would have left no material for this history.

The result was, that the laboring classes, and those in sympathy with them, succeeded in electing a large majority of the Assembly. This end

being achieved, the people began to look forward, with some anxiety, to the time when the Legislature should convene. Some time must yet elapse before the genius of the movement could be brought to bear upon the one absorbing question. The distress of the people, meanwhile, grew apace; and their dissatisfaction, and consequent dispersion to the Eastern States, continued; but, in each case, upon an aggravated scale, if possible.

If there was any phase of this period which was particularly noticeable, it was the rapidity with which grave and significant events, bearing upon the great problem of the hour, arose in succession above the horizon of chaotic political speculation. Others than the laborers of the country now began to fear that the limitless immigration license was, for some reason, a mistake; but this discovery was made, not by logical deduction, but by a far stronger argument, the logic of living, practical experience. The Coolie had entered the contest against the unskilled white laborer, and had been acknowledged the victor. He next usurped the domain sacred to the artisan, and victory again consecrated his efforts. It was at this stage that the white laborer, by act as well as by declaration, acknowledged himself no longer capable of conducting the competition.

In another respect, too, the Coolies had obtained the mastery. In point of numbers they surpassed the citizen laborers; which latter class

gradually left the painful record of its decadence upon the institutions of the State. The first, and grandest of these institutions, the Common Schools, were becoming crippled; not, indeed, in the spirit of the institution, considered in a theoretical sense, but practically. The attendance had fallen off nearly one-half. The modest children of the yeoman, in their calico suits, and the boisterous, bare-footed, but cheerful urchin of former days had nearly gone for aye. With the decrease of attendance came the decrease of schools, and thus an army of teachers — almost exclusively women, and nearly unfitted for any other sphere of life — was sent adrift to participate in the general ruin that was rapidly casting its shadow over the land.

Added to all this, a movement was now put upon foot, among their leaders, to procure for the Coolie the exercise of the elective franchise. This disposition had not yet assumed a practical form, but the expediency of the measure had been submitted to the Asiatic government, and approved; and it only remained to give it practical direction, when the sagacity of the Chinese statesmen, at home, should deem its success assured, beforehand. The perfection of this design would place the politics of California largely in the hands of the Chinese Mandarins. The industrial interests of the country had fallen into their hands, by a species of absorption; and the same insatiate power now aimed at political domination—and not in vain.

CHAPTER VI.

MARCH OF THE CONQUEST—THE PEOPLE INVOKE LEGISLATION—MODIFICATION OF THE NATURALIZATION LAWS—TRANS-PACIFIC INTRIGUES—CHINESE CITIZENSHIP—THE FEDERAL COURTS ON THE CALIFORNIA CONSTITUTION—THE LABORING ELEMENT IN ARMS—FIRST BATTLE OF THE REVOLUTION—STATESMANSHIP OF THE PERIOD—COOLIE ASCENDANCY ON THE PACIFIC SLOPE—TRADE WITH THE EAST—MANDARINS IN CONGRESS—THE COOLIE AT THE SOUTH.

The hour for the convention of the Legislature at length drew near. More than half of that body was now pledged to support, under the Nineteenth Article of the Constitution, measures for the suppression of Chinese immigration into the State of California. There could be but little, if any, doubt, as to what the immediate action of the Legislature would be. That a law, intended to restrict, in some manner, the irruption of the subjects of the Chinese Empire upon the shores of the State, would be enacted, no one, for a moment, felt disposed to doubt; but then came the question: Will it be enforced?

That the Federal government will never permit a State to dictate an international measure, for her own advantage, and hence that the forthcoming legislation will be an idle attempt, was the pre-

vailing opinion. In a moral sense, too, her statesmen argued, and with much reason, that to suppress this immigration, even by Federal enactments, would be to present the novel feature of the expulsion of a people because of their enterprise; for it is their enterprise, their thrift, their industry,—in short, their virtues, that have made them invincible and insupportable, and not the exercise of any degrading or vicious habit.

It was this view which rendered the Chinese question so difficult of definite adaptation; and it is hardly presumptious to advance the opinion, in connection, that no consideration, short of positive demonstration that the popular grievance was otherwise irremediable, would have justified any exercise of administrative authority, either to suppress or to limit the immigration of a people so eminently adapted to the sphere of life which the Coolie had heretofore occupied, in the United States, and the fullest occupation of which, the prosperity of the country so largely demanded. But this demonstration was not wanting to those who would suffer themselves to be convinced; and as yet that class constituted but an infinitesimal fraction of the people of the United States, and was confined to a few communities upon the Pacific Coast.

The government of the State of California was now in the hands of this class; and it proceeded to enact laws that would give practical direction

to its convictions. For the prosecution of this project, it had the warrant of the State Constitution.

When that instrument provided, "That the presence of foreigners, ineligible to become citizens of the United States, is declared to be dangerous to the well-being of the State," it simply asserted the true spirit of the naturalization laws of the United States, as interpreted by the United States courts; and when it directed the Legislature to "prescribe the necessary regulations for the protection of the State" * * * "from aliens otherwise detrimental to the well-being and peace of the State, and to impose conditions upon which such persons may reside in the State, and to provide the means and mode of their removal from the State, upon failure to comply with such conditions," it simply gave expression to its sovereign will, which the Federal courts have recognized the right of a State to enforce, for its own protection.

But the destinies of nations have always been determined, rather by the power that overrides the laws than by any attribute, or instinct, of obedience to them. The fate of the great American Republic was in the balance, and its laws had assumed the dictation of her affairs. Internal discord and political and social strife had divided the people, at the very hour when only the most com-

plete harmony could have parried the stroke of destiny.

The Legislature passed a series of laws covering every requirement for the public protection from the hardships of Coolieism, so far as guaranteed by the Constitution.

But while these measures were in process of enactment at the Capital of the State of California, another, and a very different order of events was occurring at the National Capital. Under the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the Federal Constitution, the power to extend the privileges of the naturalization laws, to embrace any people, whatsoever, was vested in Congress. These laws had thus far confined the privileges of citizenship to Whites and Africans; and that they clearly discriminated against the Mongolian was established by judicial interpretation, in the Federal Courts. The enactment by which these laws were amplified so as to embrace the African, were peculiarly special to that race; while in every other respect the original Act remained unaltered. The elective franchise being thus conferred on a race, by special enactment, all others were excluded by direct implication.

But the measure formerly advocated by the great Senator from Massachusetts, Mr. Sumner, was now revived: to amend the Naturalization Laws, by striking out the word "White." During the agitation in the Senate over this measure, the

Chinese Embassy at Washington were unofficially reinforced by some of the ablest men of the Empire, who came unannounced in diplomatic circles; ostensibly to study the manners and customs of the American people, of whose greatness they were wont to feign an undisguised admiration.

From some cause, that accident may reveal, but which, for the present, is lost in the uncertainty of conflicting opinions, contemporaneously with the arrival and establishment of this Mandarin corps of observation, the tone of Congress upon the question of indiscriminate naturalization became wonderfully liberalized. This liberality soon developed into advocacy, until finally every term and vestige of distinction as to color and race were swept from the naturalization laws of the United States.

The great obstacle to free immigration being now removed, and, by the same stroke that had leveled that barrier, the shackles of political disability being stricken forever from the Mongolian race, the great empire of the East was now in position to turn loose, without the shadow of reserve, the flood-gates of her pent-up human torrent. She awaited, now, only the final settlement of the question raised in California, before she should order the work of naturalization to be begun, and thus further amplify the great plan of emigration already in successful operation.

Of the final result she had not a doubt, but pre-

ferred to allow the writhing nation to strangle itself into a condition of comparative passivity—to have the death-scene rather of the nature of a suicide than of a murder. It was determined, however, that the remaining issue should be forced to a trial at the earliest practicable moment. Then, the status of citizenship would protect the Coolie in America—would give him a political status that would make him a part of the power upon the throne, instead of wholly a power behind, as heretofore.

The fate of California's anti-Coolie enactments was, indeed, virtually decided by this action of Congress, and the disposition of the Federal Executive in relation to the great controversy before the country. A suit, to test the constitutionality of the California enactments, was already pending in the Circuit Court of the District of California, involving the whole question in dispute. The cause was hurried to a hearing; both sides being anxious for the decision of the courts upon the questions involved. On both sides the cause was presented with great ability and energy. Over one hundred of the ablest counsel, from all parts of the Union, were retained by the Chinese Companies to represent their interests in this litigation. The struggle was, in this respect, a most unequal one. The whole wealth and influence of the Chinese sub-government, representing the Imperial government at home, to all intents and purposes,

with which was allied the Federal government here, against the people of the State of California. The result could hardly have been doubted. The battle had already been fought at Washington. But now, the last hope of a sovereign people was shattered; for the decision declared null and void Article XIX of the Constitution of the State of California, as in contravention of the Constitution of the United States, and in direct and open violation of the (Burlingame) treaty obligations of the government.

The laboring masses, or rather the remnant of what once was the laboring element, of San Francisco, on the one side, and the Chinese on the other, seemed to realize, as if by instinct, that upon this decision rested the gravest question ever presented in California, since the race conflict began; and that a physical conflict of the two elements would ensue, seemed, now, inevitable.

As soon as the decision of the Court was announced, declaring void that provision of the Constitution upon which so much labor had been expended and so many hopes raised up, the wildest excitement at once took possession of the people. Despair, resentment, disappointment—stimulated by physical deprivation such as heretofore converted human into brute nature, urged the people on to insurrection. No doubt, the populace was, at this period, imbued with the true spirit of revolution—that spirit which, distinguished from

that of insurrection or revolt, while the student of history may deprecate, he will never condemn. No doubt, but that those engaged believed themselves justified in this last appeal for redress or protection. No doubt, but that the causes which impelled to this were to the last degree calculated to exasperate; but the remedy proved too tardy of application.

The last available man which the clubs of the people could muster flew to arms and formed on the suburbs of San Francisco. News of the uprising was hurried over the lines to every part of the State, and troops were ordered to San Francisco to assist in suppressing the disturbance. A masterly disobedience of orders was the whole and only result of that military mandate. But in San Francisco, the State militia were immediately placed under arms and awaited orders to march. Barricades erected upon the principal streets by the engineers of the clubs, were torn away by the militia, but immediately erected again, at other points, to obstruct the movements of the latter.

Meantime, the Chinese quarter was one great scene of activity and commotion. All the approaches were blockaded, and breast-works of such materials as could be gathered up, were erected, at intervals, within the barricaded district, or enclosure. Crowds of armed Coolies, to the number of four thousand men, occupied not only those breast-works, but also the doors, windows,

and roofs of buildings, commanding the several approaches to the barricades.

The laborers' army, numbering fifteen hundred men, was at length ordered to march to the Chinese quarter. A force of five hundred men was detached with orders to obstruct any attempt of the militia to interfere. The Chinese were duly apprised, through their spies, of the advance movement against their habitation, and retired to awake the attack. As the assailants neared the barricade, a deafening clatter of Chinese musical instruments rang out, accompanied by a murderous fire from windows and house-tops, into the approaching ranks. Unable to return the fire with any effect, the attacking columns rushed upon and scattered the barricade and first line of breast-works, when they received a second volley, not only from fire-arms, in this instance, but, having come within range of missiles, of Chinese stench and fire-balls, as well.

A prudent commander would probably have retreated in the best order possible, and reformed his forces for an attack at somewhat better advantage; but no such generalship characterized the present attack. The pent-up fury of a score of years had maddened the people, at this moment of its effervescence; and every personal and moral consideration was, for the time, annihilated.

The assailants felt only that they had been robbed of the possibility of obtaining a livelihood

for themselves and their families, in the land of which they were proud to be citizens; and they fancied that they saw before them, in the persons of a few thousand Coolies, the plunderers of their birthright. They had sought to chastise that miserable race, and now it had dared to resist, and with terrible effect. It was no time to think of strategy, or generalship, when men were reaching out for vengeance.

Breastwork, after breastwork, was scattered by the assailants in their advance; and the few Coolies who had attempted to withstand the rushing columns at the breastworks, or barricades, were incontinently shot down or bayoneted. But the struggle was only a type of the many that would follow before the close of the conquest. No hand to hand opposition was encountered by the assailants; yet at every step their numbers were decimated by a galling fire, by vastly superior numbers, directed from housetops and windows.

But now came the final disaster. The militia had cut its way through every obstacle and reached the Chinese quarter while the conflict was at its height. The leaders were summoned to surrender, and upon their refusal to listen to terms, an attack by the militia was begun upon the rear of the mob. Thus, to virtual defeat by the Chinese was added ignominy and, what seemed injustice; and the assailed, now, no longer caring for aught save vengeance, turned upon the militia. Only a few

hundred were left, and these fought until their ammunition became exhausted, and afterwards with fixed bayonets, until they were overpowered and captives made of all who were not slain.

Thus ended the first physical struggle of the conquest; and the names of its heroes must go down, branded with infamy, because a short-sighted generation, incapable of interpreting their action or appreciating its incentive, will record their history.

They flew to arms, it is said, for the love of riot; for the establishment of lawlessness; for the propagation of agrarianism, and for the gratification of race prejudice. But a graver error of judgment, and a greater wrong to the memory of the country's patriots nowhere stains the pages of her history. As the representatives of the governed class they took up arms, not against the governing class, but against existing errors which they were, themselves, called upon to suffer. For years, the condition of this class of citizens, upon the Pacific Coast, could hardly be properly named "living;" it would have been better expressed by saying of them that they "existed." With scant food and insufficient raiment, they struggled to maintain the comforts of home, and family association. This struggle was not a contest such as would characterize a race of cowards, or innate criminals; but, its prosecution, in the face of every obstacle, when unillumined even by a solitary ray

of hope that did not shine through the medium of doubt and uncertainty, proved it to have been the struggle of a race of moral giants. In this struggle against want, and for the questionable privilege of an unendowed existence, the parents were condemned, in a land of abundance, to see their children, yet in their legal infancy, pass from beneath their care to struggle for bread; and if the fragile girl, or the hapless boy should fall by the way, there was no friendly hand to aid. It had become the common lot of children to fall into habits of wickedness and crime. It was under the pressure of circumstances of this nature that their fathers dared to strike where they supposed the evil to be primarily rooted.

The governing class was entrusted with the power to save, and the preceding chapters have shown whether it was earnestly sought to execute that holy trust. But, not so. The wise ones of their generation adjudged that it were better for the peasantry to perish than that certain forms peculiar to international comity should be infringed; better that the governed class should be forced into a life of idleness, want, debauchery and crime, than that the governing class should have been thought to have been guilty of a breach of political etiquette, in dealing with a potentate beyond the Himalayas.

So puffed up with pomp and personal dignity had this honorable half of the Republic become,

that its high priests, whom, in the intensity of its vanity and unconscious imitativeness, it designated statesmen, decreed, by every administrative act, that the welfare of the nation and the happiness of her people were matters of secondary consideration; and that the great purposes for which governments were organized and maintained, were the institution of what might be termed the Diplomatic Strut, at home, and the International Strut, abroad. Without the presence of the Diplomatic Strut, throughout the various departments, administrative disintegration were inevitable at home; while the plainest understanding must acknowledge that without the International Strut, the nations of the earth would at once lay aside such trifling matters as internal improvements, the cultivation of science and art, and the encouragement of commerce, and engage in the noble occupation of cutting one another's throats.

Such were the doctrines maintained and the practice established by the conduct of the American statesmen, while the governed classes were driven by want to those means of obtaining bread which the laws declared to be crimes; and however ridiculous the illustration, it is not, in point of virtual fact, overdrawn.

The greatest political writers, whose precepts have adorned the governing principles of the most enlightened nations, are unanimous that legislation can never be stationary, but must forever shift and

change to adapt itself to the varying necessities of each successive age. Except within the skulls of modern American statesmen (very modern) it was never pretended that a different rule must be applied to that which may properly be regarded as international legislation; and hence, that treaty obligations between different states were binding upon the treaty powers at the will of either party, whatever the result, or in whatever new phases the progress or the vicissitudes of the age might develop.

It was because the governed classes arose against the affirmative of this peculiar dogma of diplomatic comity, which had already divested the great body of its members of all that makes life worthy of endurance, and even now threatened to extinguish life itself by a process of mental and physical torture, that it incurred the hostility of the dogmatist class; the fervor of whose animadversion would not be appeased by the knowledge that those who drew the sword had perished, but sought further satiety by associating the memory of the unfortunate dead with acts of the blackest treason and infamy.

The fate of the few survivors of the insurrection was speedily determined. The State lacked the hardihood to punish them, or even to refuse to admit them to very moderate bail. They were accordingly held to await the usual grand jury investigation in such cases; but, by pre-arrange-

ment with their bondsmen and others, they forfeited their bail, and fled the State, never to return.

The necessities of existence soon afterwards caused the dispersion of all, or nearly all, the white laborers, other than such as happened to be freeholders, in California. To maintain their foothold, they had tried competition; then supplication, by petition; then legislation; then revolution; and had failed at each effort. They had no longer the power, nor the organization, to resist. Even existence had become a struggle, that left no time for other aims or purposes. Circumstances had made them vagabonds; for Chinese laborers and artisans filled all the avenues of labor. Then, too, the people were permanently divided. Class distinctions, regulated by wealth, had become the great social institutions. Society had become autocratic. The upper and middle classes were still largely white, but not exclusively so; and the lower class was almost exclusively Mongolian. The corporate powers of the State, and of each political subdivision, were still wielded by the white element; but the enfranchisement of more than a quarter of a million of Chinese, in California, alone, was destined to make a most emphatic impression upon the governmental system.

Immediately following the suppression of the San Francisco insurrection, and the dispersion of the white laborers, the tone of business rapidly

revived. Every branch of industry was pushed forward with rare vigor. An extensive and immensely lucrative trade sprang up with the East; and not only San Francisco, but most of the available ports of the Pacific, were carrying on an active commerce with China. The commerce of San Francisco was rapidly increased, two and three-fold; and at length reached a point of commercial supremacy never surpassed by any emporium of the continent.

Throughout all this era of prosperity, a steady tide of immigration from China provoked no remark, nor criticism. The merchant princes and the carriers discovered only that their business and their profits had more than doubled, but did not stop to inquire whether the acquisition were a wholesome growth, or a spasmodic effort of an administrative system, whose motive power had broken from its myriad attachments, and was exhausting itself in a single direction.

Another significant circumstance that, in due time, followed the expulsion of the white laborers from the Pacific Coast, was the unanimity with which the Coolies availed themselves of the naturalization laws of the United States. Those not already qualified for citizenship by age and residence, under the statute, lost no time in making the preliminary declaration. Toward the close of the second decade, more than two hundred thousand Coolies were naturalized, which, of course,

threw the political power of the State into their hands, whenever they should feel disposed to take upon themselves the responsibility of government.

Before the expulsion, the voting population of the State numbered some one hundred and seventy thousand, of which one-fourth was lost during the few years that followed the insurrection.

Now that the Chinese became fully aware of their power, they showed no disposition to shrink from the responsibility of conducting the affairs of the State; and the election just decided showed how incalculable the price that had been paid for a few years of unexampled prosperity. Only sufficient white men were elected to office to familiarize the new incumbents with the routine of business; and, as another result, the portrait of a Mandarin was suspended in the gallery of the Capitol set apart to the Governors of the State.

The control of political power in California, thus necessarily opened to the Mongolian the doors of the National Capitol; and besides two Mongolian Congressmen elected by the people, as now constituted, the Legislature proceeded to elect a successor to the Senate of the United States. To this high position was chosen one of the chiefs of the old sub-goverment; a man thoroughly conversant with the English language and literature and with the political history of the country.

Following the political subversion in California, came the tidings, first from Nevada, and then from

Oregon, that the Chinese had carried those States; and the report did not long lack confirmation,—with this exception, that while the Coolies made it manifest that they had the power, in point of numbers, to make their victory as complete as they had done in California, they were restrained by considerations of expediency. They saw that they had the power, and were willing to abide their time; so that, instead of taking the government of those States exclusively into their hands they divided it pretty evenly between themselves and those with whom they were satisfied to dally, yet a while. In both States, however, they had been careful to appropriate to themselves the control of the Legislatures, and to elect their representatives to Congress. They had come to understand that any future issues to arise between themselves and the Caucasian race, in America, must be determined by the temper and the constitution of Congress; and hence the largest possible Congressional representation was a matter of the utmost importance. They had already secured more than half the aggregate representation of those States; and the control of the entire representation of these was only a question of a brief time. They were, even now, in a position to maintain their ascendency, not only in California, but race ascendency, on the Pacific Slope, should that question arise.

If there was one popular characteristic of the

Coolie which, at this period, became more prominent than the rest, it was his undeviating loyalty. The decrees of the courts of justice (albeit, the race complexion of those tribunals had not changed) were observed as reverentially as the traditional precepts of Confucius; and the tribunals of the sub-government which had administered the affairs of the people while they were alien to the land, had disappeared.

The time had not yet come for them to throw off the mask of dissimulation. Although the absolute masters of the Pacific Slope, they had not, as yet, established political power east of the Rocky Mountains; and a single act of the Federal government, even yet, might suffice to render abortive their grand scheme of conquest. But so long as loyalty to the government and to each and every of its institutions could guarantee non-intervention in this direction, there was no ground for apprehension; for if industry, economy, enterprise and a willing obedience to every governmental requirement, will constitute the attributes of meritorious citizenship, the Chinese inhabitants of the United States were entitled to claim this merit, in the superlative degree.

And, indeed, on other grounds, their apprehension of wrongful discrimination against them, in the direction of race suppression, might be speedily removed. The badge of citizenship had placed them upon terms of equality with the natives of

the most favored nations who had claimed common allegiance; and only the grossest injustice and disregard for natural as well as constitutional rights and privileges, could dare to infringe their civic prerogative.

Thus far, as citizens, their march to power was unmarked by scramble or local intrigue. In no instance did they ever attempt to grasp the government of even the smallest municipality, before their numbers were ample to secure the end sought, without the aid of intrigue or political maneuvering. But as soon as their numbers had become ample to insure, beforehand, their political ascendency, they invariably voted themselves into office, in sufficient force to take control; and in every such instance, they conducted the affairs of the city, county, or State, with great economy and fidelity. In fact, all the intrigue and the corrupting tendency of the alien, by which legislation, and even judicial decrees, were colored, had given place to a citizenship as pure in practice as ever shed lustre and prosperity upon the government of any state.

During the later years, the immigration was no longer confined to the Pacific ports of the United States. Direct immigration to the Atlantic cities, by way of the Suez Canal and Mediterranean, had largely contributed to swell the Mongolian population of the Southern and New England States, which, at present, offered most advantages to the

immigrant. Under the patient industry of the Coolie, the cotton plantations of the Southern States were made to yield as never before; the revenue derived from this branch of industry alone having more than quadrupled under the influence of Coolie labor, extending over a period of some ten years.

Nor did the Mongolians suffer themselves to be manipulated by the politicians of the period. Numerous were the attempts made by political schemers to kindle in the mind of the Coolie the spirit of partisan strife and bitterness, such as had characterized their intercourse with the ingenuous African, in years agone. But every such effort wholly failed. In fact, the Coolie proved, in this respect, intractable; while it never occurred to the self-sufficient politician that had undertaken the manipulation of the Asiatic, that his apparent political obliquity was simply the result of a depth and acuteness of perception far superior to his own.

While they were yet too weak in numbers to attempt the dictation of the affairs of a State, or any of its municipal subdivisions, they voted as if by rule, with both parties, about evenly, so that their vote seldom determined any election, and played but an indifferent part in party politics. They never neglected, however, to avail themselves of their right of suffrage, although they,

evidently, were but slightly interested in the result.

Their presence in the Eastern States, during those years, was by no means unattended by social disturbances of a most alarming character, in which they participated, on the defensive; but the particulars of these, as well as their influence upon the whole movement, in both hemispheres, will properly belong to a subsequent chapter.

Before concluding the present chapter, may properly be noticed one peculiarity of the immigration, of which no plausible explanation was ever made or offered. Indeed, it was quite sufficient to throw a certain degree of doubt upon the good faith of the whole vast plan of colonization, and such would probably have been the result, from which grave consequences might have followed, were it not for the exemplary conduct of the Asiatic citizens, in every sphere of industrial life. The feature to which reference is made is the fact that less than five per centum of the Chinese immigrants to our shores were women. In view of this disproportion, the domestic relation, as understood in European life, was clearly impossible.

The immigrants, consisting chiefly of men, in the vigor of life, lived in communities, and established a species of family circle without the presence of their women. This fact, if noticed at all, at that time, was simply regarded as a national eccentricity, and elicited no further study or com-

ment. Time, however, was destined to explain its great significance, and to establish, as well, that no peculiar feature of this movement was the work of chance; that every apparent eccentricity was but the surface indication of a design too magnificent of conception to be absolutely concealed, however it might be disguised; and that each and all contributed to the formation of a terrible but harmonious aggregation.

CHAPTER VII.

LABOR ON THE RAMPAGE——THE CHINESE CONTROL THE RAILROADS ——A SOCIAL SUGGESTION——THE SUM OF PARTISAN VIRTUE—— SOUTHERN ESTIMATE OF THE COOLIE——RISE OF CLASSES——THE NEGRO EXODUS——THE COOLIE SETTLES IN NEW ENGLAND AND BREEDS DISTRESS——THE MORALS OF NEW ENGLAND SUFFER—— HER PEACE IS DISTURBED——SHE SEEKS TO REPUDIATE THE COOLIE AND FAILS——HER MORAL REFLECTIONS——HER POLITICAL REFLECTIONS——BENEATH THE SURFACE.

IT will be remembered that in a previous chapter, the ratification of the Burlingame Treaty was fixed as an epoch from which to date the progress of events detailed in this history. Adhering to this plan of computation, less than three decades had elapsed, and the Mongolian population of the United States numbered more than four million souls.

On the Pacific Coast the plan of encroachment, which was begun by an irresistible competition, which drove out the white laborers, was gradually extended to the commercial classes, also. The commerce with Asia had become the great source of wealth to San Francisco, and which did more than all other causes combined, to develop the latent resources of the Pacific Coast States, and to encourage their manufacturing industries, soon

fell into the hands of the Chinese merchants and carriers resident at San Francisco. These, by privately extending special privileges to their countrymen, who, in common with others, were dependent upon this commerce for local traffic, soon enabled them to take control of the local commercial patronage of the State and of all the territory tributary to San Francisco, as well. Besides this, the white consumers had gradually diminished, so that it was, in one sense, a Mongolian community, whose members were transacting business among themselves.

The aim of the Mongolian to establish this order of things was for several years thwarted by the great wealth and influence of the powerful railroad corporations of the Pacific Coast, which, although comprising several companies or corporations, were essentially the same; being composed of the same individuals operating different routes under different charters.

But a couple of decades in the enjoyment of civil liberty had wonderfully developed the mental capabilities of the Mongolian. Fertility of resource had become one of the most prominent characteristics of that people; and to this was added that boldness of enterprise, indomitable perseverance and inflexible determination which makes the accomplishment of every human endeavor tributary only to the lapse of time.

To obtain the possession of these immense

franchises and property had long been a cherished dream of the Mongolian capitalists; and a plan was at length devised by which those corporations were compelled to accept terms. The Constitution of the State of California, the adoption of which, by the people, has already been noticed, aimed, among other things, to curb the powers of the railroad corporations. To carry out this object it provided for the election of a Board of Railroad Commissioners, whose special duty it was made, to regulate the rates of freights and fares over the several lines of road. As the Chinese had long had the control of the political power of the State, and the railroad companies obstinately refused to listen to any overtures by which their property should be transferred, the former, now, for the first time, availed themselves of their political advantages to accomplish a private end. They had it in their power to fix the rates of freights and fares at such a standard as Commissioners elected by themselves might report to the companies. This they did, and reported a schedule of rates so low that the roads were, first, reduced to very moderate profits, and, in due course of time, to no profits at all.

The railroad companies now sought relief in the courts; but the most critical construction of the laws failed to establish any rights of redress in the premises. They next refused to carry freight or passesgers at the schedule rates, whe e-

upon they were brought into court, at the suit of the Board of Commissioners, and sustained heavy damages. For some time longer they continued to operate their great system of roads at rates that sufficed for running expenses, with hardly a margin of profit; until, finally, becoming satisfied that there was no longer a principle upon which to support further resistance, they accepted the proposition to receive, in coin, the value of their immense property and franchise.

The system of internal communication which thus fell into the hands of the Mongolian citizens of San Francisco, by this one act, comprised the entire railroad system of California, Nevada, Oregon, and Arizona. To their political was thus added their commercial supremacy, on the Pacific Coast; and as these invariably carry with them the recognition of the social preferment of the class to which they belong, the Chinese may be said to have, at that period, become supreme throughout these several States. Their wealthy and influential men had already begun to intermarry with the daughters of America,—the latter, in forming these alliances, having simply obeyed a mandate of human nature as old as humanity: that the women of the conquered race will not long object to an alliance with the conquerors.

Throughout the series of years that had elapsed since the Presidential veto of a farcical measure to limit Chinese immigration, already detailed, the

Congress of the United States looked on rather with approbation than with indifference at the tide of immigration from China; but taking no account of the miseries and doubts of the people, who happened to be the immediate sufferers, at home. The partisan spirit which had settled down upon the popular understanding, at the close of the rebellion of 1864, never, for a moment, lifted its baleful influence from the affairs of the nation; on the contrary, it colored every public action, and breathed, forever, into the public affairs of the country, the discord of evil destiny.

Two great parties, each doubting the motives of the other; doubting its honesty, its ability, its integrity,—in fact, believing it thoroughly and absolutely depraved, and struggling only for spoil, in its efforts to govern, each jealous of every success, suspicious of every advantage obtained by the other,—were the instruments by which the revenues of a great nation and the interests of a great people were administered. Always provoking or repelling reprisals, slandering, falsifying, corrupting, and debauching; these powerful divisions, with changing successes, from time to time, had no leisure to devote to such matters as might determine the welfare of the whole people, and lacked the disposition to combine for the common good.

That which the people saw, their leaders either could not, or would not see. The people saw that

the system was leading to ruin, and the loss of political liberty, either in the flash of revolution or by the process of Asiatic colonization; but their leaders saw only that the ascendency of their several parties, on such terms as to secure a permanent lease of power, was all that was needed to establish the government upon an immovable basis, and guarantee the prosperity of the citizen. And the leaders triumphed over the people, as leaders have generally done, and their authority was as supreme as were the dictates of the Chief Inquisitor of Spain, or of the preacher of the Scotch kirk, in the palmy days of sectarian bigotry and superstition.

Adam Smith, the great political economist, laid down the rule that labor, and not land, is the *source* from which wealth is derived; and that the wealth of a nation will, therefore, be proportioned to the number of its inhabitants who work. The truth of this theory is practically vindicated by the study of the United States at this period. Notwithstanding the conflicting notions of governmental method which prevailed, and which kept the plan of government in a condition of constant vacillation, the unsettled state of public opinion, and the occasional conflicts of a more practical nature which were occurring among the laboring classes, nevertheless there never was, before, a time at which the country attained to a condition of national prosperity so emphatic in

itself, or so exalted by comparison with that of the states of Europe. The immense funded debt of the nation was almost extinguished; and the balance of trade with Europe, now in favor of the United States, often exceeded, annually, the gross amount of our former exports. This was the direct result of the additional toil of more than four million Coolie laborers, who were scattered over the whole territory of the United States, from ocean to ocean.

These patient toilers continued to wring from all the kingdoms of Nature whatsoever of value she held concealed. The production of gold, silver, copper and iron, and the manufactures in these metals for export to every quarter of the globe, were conducted with astonishing energy by the Mongolian citizens. The drudgery connected with the production of the raw material was almost exclusively in their hands; but the more delicate work of manufacture fell to the lot of their Caucasian brethren. In the production of cotton, rice and sugar, and other staples peculiar to the South, they had likewise monopolized the sphere of drudgery; but some of the representative men of the race were aiming to possess rich cotton plantations. They enjoyed peculiar advantages in these last named pursuits. Compared with that in the Pacific Coast States, the progress of the Coolie throughout the whole territory known as the Slave States, might be said to have been

without any obstacle worthy of the name. The inhabitants were delighted with them as a substitute for the negroes. They were neither idle nor vicious; nor did they thwart the interested aims of the politicians by interfering in matters of government. In fact, had the Southern people been privileged to petition the Author of Nature for a species of human being, to be made to order, with the assurance of having the petition heard and granted, they could not have provided themselves with a model more suitable to the public taste than they found ready-made and providentially supplied in the person and presence of the Coolie. He was so eminently stupid in great things, and so quick and keen in small; so devoted to toil, and so averse to sentiment; so obedient, so cunning, so ignorant, so willing, so unassuming, and so servile, that the Southern land-owners once more imagined themselves the masters of a race of slaves,—but this time of willing slaves,—and a prospect of permanence to the institution. They had not learned to interpret the restless, anxious, observing glances; the interminable endeavor; the avarice, and the bland, significant courtesy, so common to the whole Mongolian race.

They might have known that avarice, the most prominent of all the national characteristics of that people, is the child of ambition, and that the latter is, to-day, as insatiable as it was when, only a century ago, its incarnation, in the person of

Bonaparte, held it forth to the astonished and terrified gaze of prostrate Europe, or when, at periods more and still more remote, it turned with lofty and imperious scorn from the devastation of Rome or the ashes of Carthage. They might have known that a nation which was free while the caves of unregenerate Europe gave a wretched shelter to their barbarous ancestors, had not come from the antipodes to do them fealty, and revive an effete feudalism; they might have known that the genius of Freedom must be the inspiration of a people who were the first in the world to be free; that the genius of Independence must be the inspiration of a people who were the first in the world to be independent, and the most successful in preserving their independence; that the genius of Government and Civilization must be the inspiration of a people whose government dates to an age so remote that its origin is lost in the shadows of antiquity. They might have known that the institutions of barbarism and of a barbarous age could never be assimilated by a civilization so crystallized by the influence of a system, changeless through centuries; but they were too conceited, and too ignorant, to indulge a contemplation so ignoble as that which should place the laboring Coolie upon an eminence to which they dare not, in theory, aspire.

This misconception indulged in by the people of the Slave States, was not confined to them;

and only differed in degree, but not in kind, from the opinions of the whole independent classes of the United States. The system of Coolie labor was seen to work well in practice ; and as for the theory, if studied at all, it was to prove how eminently qualified it was to take care of itself. The labor of four millions of Coolies, added to the regular white labor of the country, developed all her resources to the fullest. Some of these that seemed inexhaustible, as, for instance, the coal, silver and iron deposits, among the minerals, and every agricultural pursuit, availed to give permanence to the population established over vast districts reclaimed from the wilderness.

No government could reasonably demand of her citizens more of enterprise or of industry than was freely accorded here ; and from a practical standpoint it would have been political insanity to have aimed a blow for the suppression or discouragement of industries so worthily directed.

But the prosperity of the country, so far from alleviating the suffering of the poor, rather tended to its aggravation, by the erection of classes and the forcing of them to extreme distinctions.

The experiences of the Pacific Coast, of many years earlier, were in process of repetition, but upon a larger scale. Four millions of people could not introduce themselves into a nation of forty millions, and confine themselves to the sphere of a single class, without being sensibly

felt ; and so it was. They did not fall into places already vacated to receive them at the date of their advent into the country, nor did they develop new industries to give labor to the hands of all. Throughout the Slave States the presence of the Mongolian was the signal for the departure of the African ; and of these latter, such as were not transferred to the land of their ancestors by emigration societies and private enterprise, were scattered about among the cities of the Union and fast striding toward extinction.

The manufacturing towns and cities of New England were the first among the communities of the Atlantic States to feel the blight of this unapproachable labor system ; and now they amply suffered for their sin in being the first to raise their voices for its propagation. Here the conditions of an ordinary livelihood combined to render the attendant hardships greater than any heretofore arising from the same cause elsewhere. Compared with the Pacific and the Southern States, the necessaries and comforts of life were more expensive and difficult of procurement. To this was added the further circumstance of a dense population, which had been accustomed to draw its sustenance from the revenues of the great manufactories in its midst. As in California, however, the untrammeled and frugal Coolie offered to work at rates of wages far below any at which his white co-laborer could afford to

serve and maintain the burden of his domestic establishment—even below the rate at which he could work and maintain himself. As it was on the Pacific Slope, so, now, it was rendered in New England: like causes produced similar effects. The white laborers were driven out by as many Coolies as had acquired skill in the various arts in which they sought employment.

But the rigor of the New England winters brought a new feature into the question. This called for many conveniences that are indispensable not only to individual health and comfort, but, indeed, to existence itself, and which are not demanded by the physical causes that beset the inhabitants of more favored latitudes. Men in these days will not, as a rule, sit despondent and effortless while those that have grown up around them, and are dependent upon them for the common necessaries of life, are suffering for the least as well as for the greatest of these. The pangs of cold and hunger appeal to a law far higher and mightier; far more universal and imperative than any evolved from the brains of men. Under their influence, the greatest coward by nature, among beasts as well as among men, becomes oblivious of fear. He must, therefore, be less than a normal creation who could, by his own hearth, contemplate the paling cheek and tattered garments of innocent childhood, knowing the cause to rest with empty store-rooms and empty wardrobes,

where erst were the ample domestic supplies of better days, and who will yet shrink from any endeavor, short only of the greatest of crimes, to relieve the distress of home.

The citizen who finds himself reduced to this strait, after he has exhausted every honest endeavor, and who will still shrink from the perpetration of any crime, short of murder, to bring a ray of light into his home, although the agony of apprehension may fall to his own lot, may be a moral man in the estimation of this good world; but the appellation is only the homage which timid opulence pays to desperate poverty, in order that the latter may be flattered into suicide or starvation, rather than assert a right which the God of Nature has proclaimed should never be restrained by any conventional obligation.

The radical one of these two alternatives was that which soon began to sway the multitude of idle laborers throughout the afflicted districts of New England. In vain that the Courts thundered against the offenders the indictments of its Grand Juries; in vain that police and detective forces were multiplied; in vain that the penalties of public offences were intensified by express legislalation—all was ineffectual to crush the lawless spirit that arose.

The country was teeming with wealth, but the people were in distress; overflowing with abundance and exporting stores to foreign lands, yet

the masses must starve; was filled with busy industry, yet the people had been dispossessed of the means of earning bread. It was not unaccountable that they should have turned upon society, since society was first to turn upon them; that they should wring from the wealth, which their labor had created and maintained, that subsistence which was arbitrarily withheld from them. Thus it was that the same causes which produced the mischievous "hoodlum" and the useless "tramp," in the gentler climate and less circumscribed sphere of industry of California, produced in New England not only these, but the robber and bandit as well. Desperate men lurked by the secluded highways, or under the shadows of night issued forth upon the city streets, and procured by lawless daring, or by stealth, that subsistence which they were no longer permitted to earn. Nor was there, in the midst of this public disorder, anything in view that could suggest a general plan for the pacification of the people. On the contrary, those who exercised sufficient penetration to discern the identity of the noxious agency at work, saw only the prospect that the difficulties must increase rather than diminish, with the lapse of years; and few of those cared to speculate upon the contingency that must inaugurate a change for the better. The Coolie immigration was rather on the increase than otherwise; and every arrival served to further dis-

tribute the patronage that fell to the lot of the laborer.

A few years of lawlessness, pillage and suffering, and New England began to awaken to a realization of the fact that her ancient propogandism in favor of Coolieism was an error of judgment, and that she was now called upon to suffer the penalty of her sentimental advocacy in that direction. She had sought and secured cheap labor, and, by the same act, did much to gratify the obtrusive missionary spirit of her people. By all this she succeeded more in concentrating than in building up her wealth; while in the work of proselytizing the Mongolian her efforts wholly failed.

But her weatlh, whether accumulated or simply concentrated, she was powerless to enjoy. Instead of abundance, equality, contentment, peace and morality, which were by no means empty figures of speech in New England, and which she enjoyed before she fixed her desires upon Coolie labor, she had now classes in society distinguished by lavish wealth on one hand; on the other, indescribable squalor, internal strife, and an insecurity of life and property from which the laws were unable to relieve. The condition of society was every day growing more intolerable, while the real cause of the popular disorder was too manifest to be further dissimulated.

The people, at length, resorted to the method

employed by California, while she was yet free. They flooded Congress and the Executive with petitions praying for the intervention of the government to relieve from the unendurable burden of Coolieism. But the time was past when Congress would listen to interested sectional appeals, which came unsupported by other inducements than simple justice. The problem of partisan supremacy had not yet reached a solution, and questions of a novel character could be viewed only in their bearings upon this greater question; and it happened, just now, that any measure touching the suppression of any privilege heretofore accorded to the Mongolian, was, at this period, particularly distasteful and inappropriate, and for this reason:

The hostile political parties were so nearly balanced, that, should the Pacific Coast members, who were all Mongolians, throw their united support upon one side, that side would, thereby, become supreme. In other words, the antagonism of the political parties was too rancorous for compromise; and these being nearly equal, the Mongolians held the balance of power.

There was, besides, another circumstance which had not escaped the notice of certain shrewd members, viz.: that it was a question of only a few years when one or more of the Southern States would send Mongolian representatives to Washington. There was not the slightest cir-

cumstance in the movements of the Asiatics to indicate such a probability, but the vote necessary to accomplish this purpose would soon be attained, and then the matter would be decided without noise, and when least expected. Hence, that party which would prove most successful in conciliating the Mongolian members might rely, with something more than a baseless expectancy, upon their co-operation.

By these and kindred considerations, New England was left to determine in her own way, and as best she might, the question that had filled her benevolent, as well as her penal, institutions with inmates, her streets with homeless paupers, and her highways with armed banditti.

Through all the excitement of this period, its hardships, and its persecutions, the plodding Coolie worked and toiled, apparently heedless of the adversity of his surroundings, and determined only upon doing, slowly, but thoroughly and well, the work in hand, of whatsoever nature that might be. Whenever assaulted, he escaped, if possible, to a place of safety; but if escape was impossible, in any instance, he turned at bay, with no other idea of defense than to take the life of his assailant. But his native frugality was more than a match for any opposition; and no retrogression ever marked his way, whether to political or social position, or to the acquisition of material supremacy.

It began, at length, to dawn upon the New England mind, associated, as it was, with scenes of lawlessness and outrage, that the tendency of the times, considered collectively, unmistakably pointed to a subversion as unlimited in its social and political sway as it promised to be in its territorial jurisdiction. The afflicted parts of the great body politic, which so industriously struggled to slough off the disease, by all manner of abnormal manifestations of the popular resentment, were not the only localities actuated by the animus of protest. Nor was the absence of noisy demonstration, outside the afflicted districts of New England, an indication that the affection was merely local. On the contrary, these were but the ulcers which indicated the foulness of the constitution that could so well sustain their inflammatory action. An universal apprehension was abroad, which was felt, to a greater or less degree, by all whose sensatory faculties were not either blunted, paralyzed, or perverted by selfish advantage, or the fervor of the reigning political antagonism. These were the considerations which stamped an unchallenged sense of security upon the minds of the wealthy and the ruling classes; while the superstructure of society was reeling under the accumulated burdens imposed.

The political and social rulers of the people looked on, saw and deprecated the prevalent distress. It was very unfortunate, in their estimation,

that men should be so improvident as to throw away their time and opportunities, and allow themselves, and those dependent upon them, to suffer. More unfortunate still, that not satisfied with the life of idleness which they had selected, they must further descend to vice; which not only broods disgrace for themselves and their families, but worse still, interferes with the pleasures which the better class might, otherwise, be in position to enjoy. These exceedingly proper people, moved by a sense of the duty they owed to society, and partly by sympathy for the families of those criminal assemblages, would use their influence to have the laws more rigidly enforced, that the husbands and fathers of those wretched women and children,—nay, even the latter, as well,—may be taught, by the condemnation of society which they would make manifest, the lessons they were too indolent, too stupid, or too vicious to gather from its toleration.

The politician, in the enjoyment of official position, and intoxicated by the homage as well as the emoluments of his office, could only discover that the American people were proving to the world that they were unable to stand a high condition of national prosperity. He pointed, with emphasis, at the condition of New England, teeming with wealth, as evidenced by her powerful corporations, her manufactures, and the exports of her great commercial cities, and yet a prey to the

lawless passions of a generation of vagabonds, too proud to labor and too vicious to starve. He was convinced, in his own mind, that unless the Mongolian laborers were increased, in sufficient force to actually sustain these vicious classes in a condition of absolute idleness, these latter would have to be suppressed by the power of the State, at large.

These were the opinions of the only classes which had it in their power to avert the disaster which subsequently befell. The causes at work they neither studied nor understood, while the tenure by which they held their offices, their emoluments, and their wealth, were rooted in a slumbering volcano.

It needed only the electric spark of circumstance to precipitate the practical work of reform. The elements were already prepared and placed in contiguity; but the potentiality of combination was wanting still. "Reform" was the term which the people chose to adopt, by which to designate the principle that had been lost, and which it was their province, at the proper time, to restore. In its very indefiniteness it was a term eminently proper to express the thing desired, for the most acute intellect, contemporaneously cast into the midst of a social and political system so bewildering, would stumble in the effort to analyze its constituent abuses.

Reform, however, was sufficiently comprehen-

sive to include within its import whatever contingent exigencies its case might demand, — whether its establishment might rest with the humble effort of the ballot, or whether its empire might demand its restoration amidst the crash and devastation of civil war.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE CHINESE EMPIRE——BIRTH OF A NEW CIVILIZATION——RISE OF THE MILITARY SPIRIT——THE NATIONAL ARMAMENT——COMMERCIAL SUPREMACY IN ASIA——THE ARTS AND SCIENCES——SHE AIMS AT THE DOMINION OF THE HIGH SEAS——ENGLAND AND HONG KONG——CONQUEST OF FARTHER INDIA——CHINA BECOMES THE DICTATOR OF ASIA——SHE CLINGS TO HER TRADITIONS——SPECULATIONS IN THE REALM OF CONQUEST——PREPARATIONS FOR THE STRUGGLE——MANDARINS IN AMERICAN POLITICS——THE DISCOVERY.

THE Chinese Empire, at the close of the Nineteenth Century, had assumed a national splendor which placed her upon an eminence far above the sisterhood of nations, in point of wealth and enterprise. Her immense population of four hundred and seventy-five millions of souls, enjoyed tranquility, prosperity and good government throughout her vast dominions, covering more than two and a half millions of square miles of territory. Half a century of free intercommunication with Europe and America, had effectually transformed the mediæval impracticability of her institutions. Soon after the middle of the Nineteenth Century, it was, that she awoke from her voluntary slumber of centuries, to discover that she had been outstripped in the discoveries and

applications in science and art; and with this consciousness came, also, the determination to shake the slumber from her faculties, and lead, once again, the civilization of the world.

She entered upon this course by despatching her willing subjects to Europe and America to learn the languages of the nations there, and to inform themselves of the means by which those peoples had achieved an universal command over the elements of Nature, and learned to unlock the mysteries of her wonderful laws.

It needed only the combination of the great mechanical contrivances of Europe and America, with her own existing internal improvements, to give her an impetus toward a matchless prosperity in the domain of agriculture. This combination she soon effected, and in a manner eminently characteristic. The vast prospective consumption of labor-saving machines, which promised to follow upon their introduction, created among certain of her prominent commercial communities the ambitious desire to establish manufactories at home. Accordingly, there sprang up, throughout the Empire, great manufactories of such implements as were heretofore exclusively obtained from abroad. These works were inaugurated under the superintendence of foreigners—principally Englishmen and Americans. Of the raw materials for manufacture, the mines of the Empire furnished abundance. Railroads and tele-

graph lines soon began to connect the distant provinces of the Empire. Travel increased and brought with it an increase of commercial and social intercourse among the inhabitants. They now began to understand, from practical experience, that which they had known before only in theory: the magnitude of their country, its wealth, and its overshadowing population.

The introduction of Western inventions had not only perfected them as an agricultural people, but had also made them a manufacturing people. Naturally ingenious, they soon, practically, understood, if they did not quite master, the theory upon which the most complicated machinery was constructed; so that they were gradually enabled to dispense with the services of foreign workmen.

While she was thus marching forward upon her career of marvellous prosperity, many of her citizens returning, after years of residence abroad, brought back with them a relish for military achievements, as well as for many of the customs and habits of life peculiar to our Western civilization. The occasion was opportune for the introduction of new ideas; for just then the national spirit was in a state of transition, swelling from pride to enthusiasm, as the people indulged themselves with the contemplation of their national greatness. The fervor of military fame is readily kindled in a people thus enthused by a sense of their own importance; and more espe-

cially is this true when the ruling powers of the state show themselves in sympathy with the spirit of the people, at large. Their great statesmen looked on with approbation, and in sundry ways, and without display, managed to fan the flame of popular enthusiasm. They had not builded in vain; and they never lost sight of the sacred traditions of their country and of their race, which pointed still onward to universal dominion.

Heretofore, they had men sufficient in numbers to sweep the Western Hemisphere at a single stride, if men had been all that was needed to effect conquest. But more was required. A military spirit, military equipments, transportation—these, and much more, were wanting still. But now, the last and all of them, if not already supplied, were certainties of the near future. Besides one great manufactory for the production of heavy ordinance, which was made an institution of the Government, by the Imperial decree, there were, elsewhere throughout the Empire, several factories devoted exclusively to the production of small arms of every design now in use in Europe and America. Nor were the arms produced in those factories inferior, either in workmanship or in the materials employed, to the best English or American arms.

As if determined, at the proper time, to overawe her continental neighbors by a display of

her available power, which she now chose to manifest, she set about the work of creating a standing army that should excel in point of numbers any other ever wielded by any one government, whether of ancient or modern times. The standard of this army, in the matter of arms and equipments, was to be equal to the best appointed army of Europe.

This proposed exhibition of military power was, no doubt, intended to serve a double purpose. Its prestige alone would serve to protect the integrity of her boundaries at home, while it furnished, at the same time, the requisite force to carry out her ambitious scheme of foreign conquest.

During the years employed in the prosecution of this great military enterprise, the outside world remained unadvised of any movement of an unusual or important nature among this remarkable people, beyond the bare fact that they had begun to develop manufactures and to extend their commerce. The secrets of the government were jealously guarded within the precincts of the sacred city; and while citizens without might look on and speculate upon the probable direction of the Imperial will, they had not even the slightest warrant, founded upon official report, as to the basis of a conclusion at which to arrive. The citizen only knew that he was called upon to reform the habits of every-day

life to which he had been accustomed, by devoting a considerable portion of his time to the performance of military evolutions and the manipulation of arms. He had no information as to how many besides himself might be so employed; to what favored districts of the Empire these exercises might be confined, or of the purposes they were intended to subserve. He was not only allowed to believe, but encouraged in the belief, that his country might at some future day decide to move toward the fulfillment of that destiny of dominion prefigured in her traditions, and that the prosecution of that design might demand a great military effort, which would challenge the patriotism of every citizen.

This system of military training, at length, toward the close of the Nineteenth Century, had metamorphosed a nation of toiling husbandmen into a military people,—but properly more than merely a military people, although not, formally, a standing army. So perfect had they rendered their military organization, that while they still pursued their peaceful avocations, the Imperial order, flashed by telegraph around the circuit of the Empire, could, at any time, call to arms a well disciplined force of twenty millions of men,—and this exclusive of one million, besides, trained solely to the profession of arms, and pursuing no other avocation. Although preserving intact this splendid military establishment, her productive indus-

tries were not neglected, while her commerce continued to increase.

The achievements of the Caucasian intellect she next turned to account, by supplying the markets of Asia with Western contrivances manufactured at home, while her teas, silks, and other articles of export, were no longer exchanged solely for manufactured goods, but gathered into her treasury the coins of every nation of the globe.

Her increased commerce soon necessitated the increase of commercial facilities; and she accordingly set about the work of amplifying the capacity of her merchant marine. She instituted this movemant by refitting her navy yards after the manner of Western nations. But the process of shipbuilding, hurried even to the fullest capacity, was too tardy to satisfy the commercial requirements of the country; so that it became necessary to resort to auxiliary means of procurement. Accordingly, her commercial agents were to be found negotiating the purchase of merchant vessels at all the principal maritime cities of Europe.

Indeed, at this period, in the management of her affairs, nothing was neglected. A spirit of watchful enterprise was abroad, which filled her ports with commerce, her inland territory with busy industry, her schools and colleges with students of science and art, her store-houses and granaries with articles of consumption and export, and her

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America in the capacity of laborers. By a course of intrigue and bribery, she managed to procure an amendment to the naturalization laws of the United States, by which these soldier-laborers were entitled to the privileges of citizenship. This accomplished, she caused their concentration at given points, until, by gradual accretion by further continued immigration, their numbers became sufficiently great to take the political control of a State, and then of other and several States.

These results obtained, she was now in position, through the aid of friendly State governments, to prosecute her designs, untrammeled. The officers of the several States under their control were simply the appointees of the Official Board at Peking, who were submitted to the forms of an election, here, to satisfy the constitutional requirements of this government.

She was thus enabled to convert the city of San Francisco into a great depot of military stores, with branch establishments in Mississippi, Louisiana and Florida.

All this time, by artfully balancing her representation between the hostile political parties in America—flattering and aiding each one alternately—denouncing, applauding, condemning, approving, as the objects in view might demand, she kept alive and glowing that partisan rancor and insane prejudice, that political antagonism and sectional antipathy which first began to disgrace

magazines and arsenals with arms and munitions of war.

Except we consider the marvelous reign of Charles III, of Spain, history furnishes no instance of a change and improvement so vast, in a period of time so brief as that which marked the progress of China, from the date of the Burlingame Treaty to the close of the Nineteenth Century. In this case, the exploit was, perhaps, greater; for Charles III had only to revivify a naval, political, social and military corse, which had been embalmed for a hundred and fifty years, and restore it to the normal exercise of its dormant faculties; but in China, as we have seen, it was the education and advancement of a people from the exercise and employment of the customs, habits and learning of mediæval times to the full knowledge and exercise of the grandest achievements of the most enlightened countries of the most enlightened age.

Contemporaneous with the perfection of her military system, was established the practical perfection of her naval establishment. Her merchantmen, her transports, and her iron-clad vessels of war, while challenging no hostile trial of strength, conceded no superiority,—not even of that of the colossal armament of England. Her vessels of war were newer, more improved, and more durable, although not, perhaps, so numerous as those of Great Britain; but her merchantmen outnum-

bered those of any other nation. She had thus been enabled to obtain the greater part of the trade of Asia, as the market for her manufactures,—articles for the mechanism of which she was indebted to England and the United States, and the exclusive trade in which they had heretofore enjoyed.

The time was past when Great Britain could proceed to vanquish this competition, in a way peculiarly her own; nor was there any indication that it was ever to return. England could not dare to risk the safety of her theoretical empire in India, by adopting vigorous tactics for the suppression of an inconvenient competition in trade, which might call forth reprisals that would be slow to yield either to force or conciliation. Her opium trade had already suffered from the Imperial frown of the great autocrat of souteastern Asia; while her pretensions to the territorial acquisition of Hong Kong were roughly rebuked: indeed, her further continuance at that emporium, and even its freedom to her traffic, were made conditional upon the tacit surrender of her proprietary pretensions. England was in no condition to remonstrate, and her knowledge that an army of many millions of men was at her very door suggested one of two alternatives: either peaceable and honorable competition or humiliating surrender.

Already had the Chinese government apprised

the rulers of Farther India, that China was prepared to receive tribute from their several territories, as her own boundary had been extended on the southwest, from the Himalaya Mountains to the mouths of the Ganges. The protest of Siam which, for a brief period, threatened to call forth a resort to arms, was the only energetic dissent from this exercise of sovereign pleasure, which she was called upon to reconcile; and this she effected by diplomatic correspondence, emphasized by the presence of a formidable fleet cruising listlessly near the Gulf of Siam, in the China Sea.

Thus it was, that without drawing her sword from its scabbard, and without the consumption of any portion of her great military stores, but solely by a judiciously managed display of irresistible power, the Chinese Empire became, in an international sense, the dictator of the policy of Asia. She could, at any moment, by the simple expression of her will, procure the usurpation of the neutral territory between Russia and England, and involve those powers in a relentless and exhausting Asiatic war. She could, on the other hand, alienate from either power the allegiance of its Asiatic subjects and procure rebellion; or she could still further complicate the question by procuring rebellion as well as international strife.

Both Persia and Turkestan had long been impatient of the encroachments of Russia, on the one hand, and hardly less so of England, upon the

other. Hindoostan longed for the restoration of her native Princes; Afghanistan was thirsting for the opportunity of resenting the insulting and domineering insolence of England, while her southern neighbor might be relied upon to contribute her share to the cause of resistance against British authority. It needed but the intimation of China that she would look with patronizing interest upon any efforts of those States in the cause of their independence, to kindle a barbarous war that would occupy the full time and every energy of her yet more powerful neighbors, to suppress.

Such is a brief, but not an imperfect, summary, in general detail, of the power, the influence and the characteristics of the Chinese Empire toward the close of the Nineteenth Century. Her available army was many times greater than that of all the rest of Asia, besides; her fleet equal to that of the most powerful fleet of Europe, her commerce employing a greater number of merchant vessels than that of any other nation; her internal improvements, her manufactures, and her agricultural industries in a most flourishing condition, and her supremacy acknowledged all over one hemisphere of the globe.

Conscious of her power, and fully awake to every advantage by which she was surrounded, she looked with calm dignity at the evident apprehension which her neighbors were no longer able to conceal. In her days of ignorance and poverty

she was great in her own estimation, because unacquainted with the true elements of national greatness. She had shut herself in from the contemplation of the rival powers and races of the Earth, and fed her ambition for national glory upon an imaginary prestige born of her ignorance, her vanity and her credulous regard for the legends and traditions that promised to place beneath her sceptre the "entire circuit of all lands."

But, now, she was enlightened, rich and powerful; while her pride remained unimpaired. Her traditions were not the less sacred, however; for they had come down the flights of unknown ages from the realm of prehistoric times, and seemed now, even to her enlightened observation, not a mere chimera, but a startling prophecy, already entered upon the period of its realization.

How great and how wise must have been her ancestors, who could thus brush aside the curtain of unknown centuries, and bounding across the barriers of Time, and the vicissitudes and accidents of human actions, could grasp, as a living entity, the sacred mystery of a nation's destiny! How favored among the races of men that people who can turn to a record like this! How manifest the design that had fostered a country for such specially attested ends; preserved her territorial integrity, her national characteristics, and the lofty inspiration of her people, amidst the crash of successive empires, the extinction of peoples, and

the mysterious and desolating throes of Nature! These, and kindred considerations, they were that swelled the national heart, and fitted the people to enter upon the fulfillment of their astonishing destiny.

Her authority being thus established at home, as well through her own strength as through the weakness or the jealousy of her neighbors, she was fully prepared to prosecute her designs against the Western Hemisphere.

It is intentionally, and with a definite purpose, that the word "Hemisphere" is employed in this connection; and it is intended in its broadest sense; for, while the immediate efforts of the invader were to be directed against the United States, they were, probably, to a great extent so because they, alone, of the powers of the Western Hemisphere, seemed formidable; and their subjugation would prove, not only a great immediate advantage, but would likewise remove the last serious obstacle to the occupation of the whole continent.

There was but little danger of Mexico, or the countries of South America, growing up to a magnitude that would be likely to defy the efforts she should make for their subjugation, when the time should come that it might please her to extend her dominions, in the New World, beyond the territorial boundaries of the United States.

Toward the north she neither feared opposition,

nor desired conquest, at present. Her Asiatic neighbor was here, again, the mistress of contiguous territory; but the check she held upon that neighbor, through her Indian possessions, was ample to secure her non-intervention.

However indisposed to rapid movements in any enterprise, China was compelled by circumstances to depart from her usual method with regard to the progress of the conquest in hand. Her statesmen and emissaries advised immediate action, after a careful study of the entire situation, in connection with a shrewd interpretation of the American character. They reported that they discovered, in this case, a people unlike the Asiatics in everything; a people who, having never felt the arm of despotism, would submit to nothing in the way of oppression or political injustice for any considerable length of time. They saw, in connection with this, the United States of America loaded down with administrative abuses and inequalities, while the rostrum resounded with declarations of equal rights, and professions of honest, economical administration of public affairs. They saw a government entirely in the hands and under the control of a single class of its citizens; while, again, the rostrum thundered: "A government of the people, for the people, and by the people." They saw that the masses of the people were alive to this inequality, and were daily becoming more and more dissatisfied with the current of events; and

they knew that they would suffer this state of public affairs no longer than might be necessary to convince them that it was, indeed, to be made perpetual. They knew that the people of the Republic, when once aroused, would shiver that miserable despotism at a blow, regardless of the cost, whether of treasure or of human life. They knew, moreover, that the primal and indirect cause of this brooding revolution was the presence, throughout the United States, of many millions of their own people, who had undergone the ceremony of naturalization; and they knew that the first blow to be struck would be against these. This might fall at any moment; and for this they advised that the Imperial government should be prepared.

Accordingly, the emigration to America, both directly and by way of the Mediterranean, was conducted without intermission. The class of emigrants which was now pressing to the front consisted exclusively of men thoroughly trained to the use of arms, and ready to fall into line whenever commanded so to do. Of this class of immigrants was constituted more than half the population of Mississippi, Florida and Louisiana, besides a large population throughout the whole valley of the Mississippi river; but the States named had fallen under the political sway of the Mongolians.

For several years past, the Chinese shippers in

San Francisco had been receiving consignments of arms and fixed ammunition from New England manufacturers, ostensibly for shipment to the East; but all such stores, instead of passing on board the China-bound vessels, were surreptitiously deposited in San Francisco, together with certain mysterious stores imported from China, to await the orders of the home government, as to their disposition.

Such was the attitude of the actors in this drama, at the beginning of the Twentieth Century. The plan of invasion was, perhaps, under the circumstances, the most cunning ever devised for the accomplishment of so great an end, and carried into practical execution. Here was a nation beyond the Pacific, contemplating a conquest quite incredible in its purpose, and not less so in its audacity; and maintaining, up to the very hour of the opening of the struggle, terms apparently of the most perfect amity.

In the absence of the particular experience afforded by the present instance, it might have been asked, in what manner could the government of China, by any possibility, maintain in the midst of the people of the United States an army of sufficient strength to carry out the object to which she might be thus mad enough to aspire?

But it were useless to indulge in hypothetical explanation, in view of the living fact. She transferred five and a half millions of soldiers to

the nation and divide the people immediately after the peace of 1864. The whole attention of the government being thus centered upon the question of partisan superiority embittered by sectional contention, there was no time left to indulge political abstractions, or to discover the presence of danger in the increasing activity of Coolie immigration.

The Imperial intriguers contemplated with acute satisfaction, the political discord, and with yet greater satisfaction the sectional jealousy of the people. They had labored for this, and their efforts had been more than simply successful. Thus far, indeed, their labors were emphatically recognized. The revolutionary tendency had hastened forward even much more rapidly than they had either anticipated, or desired. Their arrangements for a grand *coup-de-grace* might have been more ample if the people could have been longer restrained. True, the blow had not yet fallen; but there was no longer any assurance that it would be deferred for a week or even for a day.

The popular tumult had become appalling. Efforts such as had heretofore served to tranquilize the current of public sentiment, were regarded with undisguised contempt; while the suggestion of armed repression was received with open defiance. Confidence had nowhere a pillow upon which to repose, throughout the whole Republic,

and it was now plainly evident that the great governmental prodigy of the New World was blindly gathering her giant energies for one last effort to protect her brood from the lurking danger which maternal solicitude whispered to her was at her door. She had not stopped to weigh the consequences of the probable struggle. Her youthful vigor might have been misdirected but it was not impaired, while the craven finger of abject fear had never traced a furrow upon the majesty of her brow. She only saw that Freedom, the cherished daughter of her holiest attachment, had been stolen from the guardsmen chosen to defend the Temple of Human Liberty. She raised her mighty arm to strike down the stalking felon, but it fell shattered and nerveless by her side, crushed beneath a blow far mightier than her own.

CHAPTER IX.

AMERICAN SOCIETY——EXTREMES OF LUXURY AND OF SQUALOR——SOME REFLECTIONS UPON THE CONSTITUTION OF HUMAN NATURE——CLASS ATTRIBUTES——OBSTACLE TO RACE ASSIMILATION——NATURAL LAWS OF SOCIETY BECOME INOPERATIVE——SECTIONAL CONDITIONS——THE COOLIE AND THE NEGRO——SUBVERSION AT THE SOUTH——MONGOLIANS IN OFFICE——THE MILITIA, OLD AND NEW——MONGOLIAN OBTUSENESS——RACE COMPARISON——ADMINISTRATIVE INFIDELITY.

AS INTIMATED in the last chapter, the encroachments of the invaders had forced a crisis in the affairs of the United States, which, in turn, impelled to greater exertion on the part of the Chinese, in order to meet the tide of revolution by force, should their efforts in behalf of compromise or conciliation prove ineffectual.

A glance at the attitude of the contending forces in the United States about the close of the Century would reveal a chaos of political, social and moral forces, from which the most sanguine student of human nature could hardly hope to extract order, harmony, or government, except through the wasting and purifying process of a revolution, that would drag into its vortex every element of society, from the lordlings of the Senate to the squalid beggar of the city's purlieus.

There were only two grand subdivisions of society, and these might be expressed in the two words, Employer and Employed. The middle class of other days, which, although independent, was disposed to labor still, had no longer a representation that entitled it to consideration. These had either overcome competition and scaled the ladder of commercial fame, to riot in the luxuries of the period, or were crushed in the struggle, and sank to irremediable bankruptcy. The employer had ceased to bestow his personal attention upon matters of business, but collected his rents, or his profits, weekly, and devoted his time to that riot and debauchery which the necessities of society so abundantly supplied.

At this period it might be justly said that the spirit of the Republic had passed away, leaving its inanimate body to console for the loss of the living entity. The enterprises of the rich, which were wont to supply the necessities of the laboring classes, were no longer incumbered by the maintenance of the families and homes of the toiling poor. A new class of labor had offered incomparable advantages above the old, and the ancient system was literally disorganized. The rich and powerful now looked abroad over the ocean of humanity at their feet, whose every surge sent forth an echoing curse against the decrees of destiny.

They heard the murmur of despair, the cry of

grief, or the shriek of mental anguish, forever ringing out from the homeless throng, as some family tie was suddenly sundered by the demon of want or the victory of the suicide. They looked upon the popular distress only to indulge a shallow speculation upon the reigning brutality and vice, and to call for and obtain the enactment of yet more stringent laws, by which they hoped to stifle the voice and paralyze the action of insensate misery.

The moral precept, sacred to the early administrations of the Republic, which recognized the equality of all men, had degenerated into a sneer, and the very semblance of administrative justice had disappeared from the forums early consecrated to the equal dispensations under the laws. If the distinct classes ever came in contact, it was only to increase the wretchedness and degradation of the masses; for the rich sought this association only to indulge the basest passions of their nature.

In this particular the moneyed classes of America were not worse than were their European prototypes, ere yet the equality of men had become a dogma of moral government. The vices of the day were simply the result of a relapse born of circumstances that human foresight had failed to detect.

It would seem no more than simple justice, that, while a man may be made accountable for his wrongful acts by the rules of social organization,

he should not be condemned for the innate baseness of his nature, nor punished except by the infliction of that restraint which the public security has a right to exact. He was in no sense a party to its original constitution, else might its dictates have impelled to a course exemplary in the highest degree. By the normal exercise of his selfish propensities, for instance, an individual may become the incarnation of all that is vicious, of all that is thoroughly wicked and depraved; and that such is not the history, in brief, of more than half of mankind, is owing to the circumstance that the exercise of the selfish instincts of every other interpose an insuperable barrier to the overshadowing advancement of any one. Luxury and vice are convertible terms, and human nature is only the instrument by which their mutual correspondence, or inter-relation, is made discernible. Human sympathy is but the creature of education and enlightened observation. It ever erects its habitation upon the ruins of moral depravity; but, let vice regain his empire, through the suspension of enlightened sentiment, and he quickly razes this rival fabric, and robs the human heart of all those emotions which were, before, the safeguard of virtue, and the champions of every human friendship.

The employer class of the country had reached this stage. Its luxury was all that wealth could supply; its vices all that have hitherto marked the

degradation and decline of races and peoples. Its sensibilities had become blunted by a long course of sensual gratification, and its members reveled in their folly, oblivious of everything save only their selfish enjoyments.

The class which has been designated the employed was made up of a compound of nationalities and races, whose several peculiarities were thrown into relief by the exigencies of a life which called forth every attribute of their several natures—all their race and national characteristics. Of this human admixture, perhaps the most wretched element was that made up of the native-born American citizens. Their loftier aims, their higher ambition, and their innate sense of intellectual superiority, engendered by an hereditary instinct of independence and command, could illy sustain the squalor into which they were cast. The same condition did not press with equal severity upon those who had sprung from the dregs of European society.

Theirs was a condition of frenzy, disappointment and disgust; but beyond all these in point of intensity arose the apprehension that their country, their common inheritance, was in the throes of dissolution. Whithersoever they turned, they found only wretchedness and discontent, and open infraction of every municipal enactment.

How those idle thousands subsisted from day to day was a problem too dark for solution; and

if the secret of their existence were laid bare, it would reveal the extreme of human endurance and human suffering,—a picture from the contemplation of which the ordinary sympathies of man must turn appalled.

How many times the struggle of pride and virtue against the encroachments of penury and the allurements that urge to degradation, may have terminated in dashing another, and still another, star from the moral firmament; how often accumulated appeals to the sympathies of their kind were answered by the scoff of the powerful, or by their indifference; how often the temples of Justice were profaned by the abuse of power, and the perversion of the laws; how often the will of the voluptuary, alone, may have sprung the prison bolts behind the objects of his apprehension, as they entered, or even brought these latter to the scaffold,—these are queries which admit of large affirmative response, but which it is neither profitable to unravel nor elevating to contemplate. They were the inseparable consequences of the wide-spread moral ruin of the time; the indicia of the inherent putridity of the whole social system.

The picture presented here is more particularly applicable to the cities of New England. It was estimated, at this period, that fifteen per cent. of the whole white laboring population were constantly employed; twenty-five per cent. were

transiently employed, and the remaining sixty per cent. were not known to follow any lucrative occupation.

Not only the cities, but the country districts, were teeming with an avaricious Chinese population. These latter, without family ties, and living in communities, were, in proportion to their wants, by far better protected, better housed and fed, than any other element of the laboring or employed class. Their earnings were incredibly meagre in proportion to the value of their labor, but more than ample to supply their modest fare. They were generally employed in all departments of trade and manufacture, and in many instances had worked themselves up to the status of the employer class.

Always industrious and faithful in whatever capacity employed, prosperity marked the sphere of their occupation. Many of them manifested the disposition to intermarry with the daughters of New England, and in several instances such marriages were consummated. But the prominent men among them, while they indulged the luxury of American wives themselves, were wont to frown upon a like inclination among the masses of their countrymen, and spared no effort to discourage and obstruct the tendency to race assimilation.

The cause of their unwillingness to countenance this most reasonable disposition on the part of their people at large, although difficult to fathom at that

time, becomes plainly manifest in the light of subsequent events. New England was teeming with marriageable, but unmarried women, and should the intermarriage of the races become epidemic, it would surely very seriously affect the enterprise in hand. Even the Coolie, whose patriotism is so intense that he is not satisfied to rest even in death unless his bones are deposited in the hallowed soil of his mother country, might, under the influence of his Caucasian wife, refuse to strike when the moment for action should arrive. It were, therefore, far better for the cause to postpone this felicitous condition until after the work of conquest should have been determined.

The institution of marriage among the white laborers had well nigh fallen into disuse. There was no settled purpose among the idle thousands, and no prospects upon which to base a purpose of any enterprise, however unassuming. Of course, the marriage relation, which presupposes the accumulation of responsibilities, was an impossibility in view of circumstances like these, if we also credit the generation with the ordinary reasoning faculties of civilized man. But in this respect the record stamps the evidence of their rational discrimination. Very few marriages were contracted even among those of the white laborers who were still fortunate enough to find employment. Their tenure of occupation was far too uncertain to war-

rant the risk of a responsibility that might crush them at last.

But among the idle and destitute all was chaos. Theirs was a struggle for existence, in the prosecution of which all order, all system and every ceremony were alike disregarded. There was no time to be devoted to that sentimental play of the affections incident to matrimonial preliminaries, while the unromantic circumstance of actual want made the physical man a slave to other and meaner emotions. Marriages among the idle and destitute were, therefore, clearly impossible, and had entirely ceased.

Throughout the Middle and Western States, the industries of which are, on the whole, similar to those of New England, the race controversy and its consequences differed from those described in degree rather than in kind. The Coolie element, although a large proportion of the laboring population, was not so overwhelming as to precipitate that degree of distress prevalent in New England.

But even there the direction of events was unmistakable. The line of demarcation between the employer and the employed was every day becoming more clearly defined. Cheap labor was insidiously working itself into popularity, and its reception was marked by a growing disposition among its patrons tending to the indulgence of luxurious indolence. The army of "tramps" was every day obtaining recruits from the displaced

workmen. These traveled about from place to place, with no fixed object in view beyond that of obtaining the means of subsistence, and this was generally furnished by the charitable people to whom they applied. They did not, as a rule, indulge in either theft or robbery, save that they carried on a system of reprisals against the Coolies, whom they invariably despoiled of money, or other valuables, whenever favorable opportunity offered.

During the period that the Eastern, Middle and Western States were thus gradually bending to the pressure of circumstances, the Southern States were subjected to a far deeper humiliation. The industries peculiar to those States, their climate and productions, were eminently congenial to the wants, the habits and the constitution of the Mongolian. Of a common tendency with these causes was the insatiable demand for Coolie labor in all the rice, sugar and cotton-producing States, ever since the earliest stages of the immigration; hence it was, that during the whole period of its continuance into the States east of the Rocky Mountains, two-thirds of all the immigrants gravitated to the Southern States.

The Negro, heretofore the sole dependence of the planter, faded before this invasion, and gradually, but rapidly and noiselessly disappeared—perished, it seemed, by the very fact of contact, and scattered, none knew whither, beyond the

fact that many of them were transported back to the home of their ancestors. At this period it was estimated that out of the four millions of Blacks that were emancipated through the war of the rebellion, less than half a million remained.

But the places vacated by that cheerful, indolent people, were quickly and effectually supplied by the sober, industrious Coolie; and here as elsewhere, under their skill and industry, the wealth of the country rapidly increased.

The people of the Southern States have always been remarkable for the very exaggerated notion they entertain of the respectability of the profession of arms; and notwithstanding the complicated disaster of their rebellious struggle of 1861–4, yet, as a people, they never lost one whit of their vaunted martial spirit. On the contrary, it happened that immediately upon the restoration of their civil rights, they began the unprofitable task of educating their young men in the tactics of war.

This movement was first instituted by detachments, or societies, under various names, as "Ku-Klux," "Rifle Clubs," "Regulators," etc., etc. These several bodies, at various times, constituted themselves the conservators of the public peace; and in such cases furnished the rules of conduct to be observed as well as a somewhat emphatic procedure for their observance; thus not only supplying the place of State militia, but something else besides. The State militia, proper, they did

not feel disposed to organize. It was a State institution, having the approval of the Federal government, and hence they looked upon it with distrust. In time, however, their hostility to the Union became sufficiently allayed to induce them to blend their various private military organizations into companies of State militia; and having taken this step they became further ambitious to make their militia particularly imposing and excellent.

To what extent this military ambition might have been indulged it were useless to inquire, as the movement was suddenly interrupted by a most unexpected and very extraordinary circumstance. This was nothing less than the assumption of the reins of the State government of three powerful States by their Mongolian citizens. They had availed themselves of their great numbers and the high privilege of American citizenship; and at a general election voted themselves into power.

Upon this result being declared, the first impulse of the deposed rulers of these States was to compel the acknowledgment of their superior claims, by turning their splendid military organization against these insolent Coolies. True, these latter considerably outnumbered them; but that circumstance they regarded as of but little importance, if the contest were to be decided by force. Two months must yet elapse before their terms of office should expire, and provisions might yet be made

to avert the combined disaster and disgrace. Extensive military preparations were, therefore, inaugurated throughout many of the Southern States, several of which saw in this result a forecast of that which awaited themselves, and at a period by no means remote.

It was just possible, but by no means certain, that the Chinese would have retired from the dangerous position which they had assumed, at this juncture, had it not been for the affirmative promptings of the Federal government. But the attitude of the administration toward this controversy admitted of no doubt. It was clearly intimated that, should any faction, or any class or combination, of the citizens of any State, attempt, by any riotous or unlawful means, to resist the due execution and enforcement of the laws, by resisting the due installation of duly elected officers, who should have duly qualified, to fill any office within such or any State, it would become the imperative duty of the United States to suppress all such treasonable practices, by all the power of the army and navy of the United States.

In the face of this manifesto, there was nothing left for the disaffected States but submission. This they did, but in a manner to proclaim their disgust. By pre-arrangement, on the last day of the term, the various officers assembled at the Executive chamber, in the several States, whence they were escorted to their homes by military proces-

sions, made up of their matchless militia. These marched, with arms reversed, to the sound of muffled drums, while the national emblem, draped in mourning, floated at half-mast from every flag-staff. The militia then disbanded.

The new incumbents entered upon the duties of their offices without ceremony or parade. By retaining the clerical forces of their predecessors in the several offices, they were enabled to despatch the routine of government without difficulty.

But the shock to the feelings of the sanguine aristocrats of the South was too severe to be borne without some further demonstration. Thousands converted their property into money, and many of them did so at enormous sacrifices, in order to escape from the scene of their common humiliation. Those who found themselves amply provided with means embarked for Europe, whence they never returned. Those who retained their landed possessions lost nothing of material value by the change, and were poorer only in the loss of that gratification which they had before indulged, of feeling secure in the indefinite possession of wealth, independence, authority and respectability in a land of plenty.

Among the first measures prosecuted by the new government was the re-establishment of the militia. Three Chinese Mandarins, who had undergone the formalities of naturalization under the laws of the United States, wielded the executive

powers of three of the Southern States. To these men and their co-equals in rank, alone, were entrusted the secrets of the home government. They had long been watching for a pretense to begin the work of placing their countrymen on a war footing, without attracting undue notice, or exciting question or suspicion. The opportunity now offered was quickly seized upon, and the scheme was soon practically under way.

Under existing regulations, the limitation fixed upon the numerical strength of the regular militia of those States, prevented its reorganization upon a scale sufficiently grand to suit the purposes of the new government. The law was accordingly amended, by striking out all terms of limitation.

However imposing may have been the militia force disbanded, at the time of the ascendency of the Mongolian to power within those States, that which now supplied its place was hardly less so. What the Mongolian lacked in point of personal appearance, was more than supplied in point of numerical force. Their white fellow-citizens, who had meanwhile watched their military preparations, indulged their mingled contempt and aversion by the most derisory strictures upon the coming militia.

But the Chinese character is completely impregnable to the assaults of ridicule and sarcasm. These are weapons the use of which the Asiatic neither fears nor understands. His matter-of-fact

character discovers no reflection nor severity in their use, unless it may be that he discovers a reprehensible or unbecoming levity upon the part of the satirist. In this case, however, the critics were compelled to moderate their strictures upon witnessing the first military parade of a body of several thousand of the new militia.

Here was a people whom they had regarded as immeasurably below themselves in every respect, but particularly in their presumed ignorance of the art of war, executing all the evolutions of a difficult military drill and the manual of arms with an ease and regularity unsurpassed by even a body of veteran soldiers. The military training which they had undergone at home had remained their own secret abroad. The toiling Coolie had never appreciated the importance of the art of marching, countermarching, wheeling, etc., to which he had been trained; and after he had emigrated, if he bestowed a thought upon his military education at all, it was but to reflect that if it had any special purpose in the minds of those by whom it was instituted, that purpose had no longer anything to do with him. But he was pleased at this time to resume the training of his youth. It reanimated the associations of his past life—the scenes of his native land, which were fast becoming clouded by the lapse of years.

But it produced another effect yet more remarkable. The general tone of the Southern

society toward the Chinese began suddenly to change. The admiration of the Southern people for the profession of arms was suddenly extended to embrace, in a measure, the people who manifested this extraordinary aptitude for a military education. They had had no information of the extent to which a military training had been carried on in China; in fact, no information that military tactics were any part of the education of the the Coolie. They had heretofore looked upon him as a being less human in any attributes of mind than in form; capable of tilling the soil, and, generally, of performing the routine of manual labor, but wholly incapable of understanding or appreciating the elevated aims, purposes and enjoyments of the Caucasian—at the very summit of which they had placed the cultivation of a military spirit.

But the Mongolian had taught them a wholesome lesson, and now they began to respect him. He taught them—first, that he was capable of independent thought and action, in voting himself into power; secondly, that he was capable of exercising sound and cultivated judgment, as manifested in the administration of the governments of the States under his control; and, thirdly, that he had proven himself their equal in whatever capacity of life he was placed, and their superior in powers of endurance. It was an exceedingly nauseous admission to be compelled to assimilate;

but it was unavoidable. There were the facts in most imposing array. Whatsoever the Mongolian had undertaken, whether it involved the play of the mental faculties or the labor of his hands, he had achieved; and as much as he had accomplished must be subtracted from the sum of their own exclusive qualifications in striking a balance between the races. It looked as though the scale were about to tip to the other side.

It was only an unanswerable argument like the one supplied that could have produced the effect that now became noticeable. The Mongolian had proved himself a soldier, a statesman, a politician, a philosopher and a laborer. There was no longer a reason why he should not be recognized in the brotherhood of men. The wealthy ones among them were no longer excluded from the society of their white fellow-citizens; but the newly-conceded honors sat, indeed, very lightly upon their heads. But the reaction which now set in became as marked as the race hostility had been before.

The poor white man being the exception in the Southern States, there was nothing here in the way of suffering and wretchedness that could compare with the distress which prevailed at the North. The white men, as a rule, did not pretend to labor for a livelihood, at the South. In the producing districts, the very nature of the productions and their attendant conditions necessitated a

species of labor for which the Caucasian is totally unfitted.

The only white laborers that might be thought to sufficiently maintain their class representation at the South were confined to the cities; but as the Southern cities are devoted more to trade than to manufactures, the numbers of these were comparatively few. Hence it was that the lower class was almost exclusively of the Coolie element. Occasionally, a detachment of the wandering "tramps" from the Middle States found its way into the Southern districts; but there the "tramp" was regarded with so much suspicion, and so continually harassed by the operation of the vagrancy laws, that this haunt never became popular.

The growing sentiment of amity which was beginning to spring up between the races, to which reference has been made, was destined never to fructify. Beneath it all was that spirit of race antipathy which, while it might be schooled to concede toleration, would never permit the concession to stoop to practical equality.

Indeed, as we look upon the whole picture which was now presented, we can only wonder that the crisis was so long deferred. That it was so is the most convincing proof of the all-pervading patriotism of the people. They had confidence in one another, and confidence in their institutions. They felt that a blight of adverse circumstances had almost unconsciously fastened itself upon the

pursuits of the people all over the Union, which it would require the utmost skill and judgment, on the part of the government, to remove. They knew that the fountain of their laws and policy was sullied by petty partisan broils, which, for a brief time yet, might engage that attention which was due to matters of a purely public nature; but they never doubted the readiness of their fellow-citizens to throw aside matters of mere partisan feeling, for the purpose of uniting upon measures of common utility, whenever the necessity of such action should be made manifest.

But the time for action had come, and brought not the expected mediation; and yet the people hesitated. They had forgotten that the altered circumstances of the country might have effected a change in the powers and sentiments of the people, themselves. They neglected to study the signs and tendencies of the times,—to read the characteristics of the American people of the period by comparison with those that shaped their intercourse of half a century before. They failed to notice, for instance, that the spirit of independence had passed from the press of the country, and that the public journals, now, ever uttered the sentiments of their patrons; that public corruption was no longer assailed, nor public nor private villainies, in any sphere of life, any longer held up to popular execration. They failed to discover that between the antagonistic parties that ruled the

nation, the basis of mutual opposition had changed; and that it was now, no longer, both contending parties against extravagance and corruption, and presenting their several claims to the whole people for their approbation; but it became a question of both parties against the radical demands of the people, and the submission of their several measures of disguised oppression, for the citizen to select the least obnoxious.

It is true that the sin of the Administration was, on this account, the greater. It, directly, betrayed the sacred confidence of the masses. It had the power to check the invasion in time. It saw the growing misery of the people, knew the cause, and if endowed with ordinary foresight must have foreseen the final result. But it pandered to a mean spirit of partisan recrimination; pandered to every influence that promised either, or both, parties, however remotely, to promote a partisan aim. It conspired with the enemies of freedom, and blindly entertained at the national banquets the traditional foes of popular government, and aided and promoted, (involuntarily, it is true, but not, on that account, innocently,) the scheme of subversion. In short, it ignorantly despoiled the Caucasian race of its proud inheritance of a continent, and handed it over to an unsympathetic stranger.

CHAPTER X.

A Picture that Became a Reality——Further Political Victories at the South——South Carolina is Vanquished, and Forces a Crisis——Preparations for War——The Whole South in Arms——The Coolies Equal to the Occasion——Factions——The Battle of Charleston——Events that Followed——The Mongolians Raise the Standard of China——The Viceroy of America——A War of Conquest——The Struggle Inaugurated.

In 1854, one George W. Hall was convicted in California of murder, upon the testimony of Chinese witnesses. His case was appealed to the Supreme Court, which reversed the judgment of the Court below, for error, in admitting the testimony of Chinamen to go to the jury. This ruling was quite in accord with the statute then in force; but, Chief Justice Murray, who rendered the decision, intimated that even in a doubtful case—which this was not—public policy would still require that the courts should exclude the testimony of Chinese witnesses in cases where the rights of white citizens were involved. In his decision he proceeded to picture a contingent liability that, in his judgment, could not fail to work ruin and disaster to the Commonwealth. The views expressed in this opinion were the views entertained

by every American citizen at that date: and the difference of sentiment then and now will serve to show to what extremes a whole people may be schooled by circumstances and the lapse of a few decades.

The Chief Justice had no thought that the time should ever come when the premises which he had conceived should be actually presented in the United States. His picture was intended simply as a figure, to illustrate a principle. But now, after the lapse of less than half a century, that hypothetical condition was established: and it remains to be seen whether his deduction will be faithful to his premises, in the logic of actual experience. He says: "The same rule that would admit them to testify would admit them to all the equal rights of citizenship, and we might soon see them at the polls, in the jury-box, upon the bench, and in our legislative halls.

"This is not a speculation which exists in the excited and overheated imagination of the patriot and statesman, but it is an actual and present danger.

"The anomalous spectacle of a distinct people, living in our community, recognizing no laws of this State except through necessity, bringing with them their prejudices and national feuds, in which they indulge, in open violation of law; whose mendacity is proverbial; a race of people whom Nature has marked as inferior, and who are incap-

able of progress or intellectual development beyond a certain point, as their history has shown; differing in language, opinions, color, and physical conformation; between whom and ourselves Nature has placed an impassable difference, is now presented, and for them is claimed not only the right to swear away the life of a citizen, but the further privilege of participating with us in administering the affairs of our government."

And all this had come to pass, not only in California, but in the East and South as well. Some years had elapsed since the governments of the States of Louisiana, Florida and Mississippi had been transferred to the hands of their Mongolian citizens, and a few years later the States of Alabama and Georgia were subjected to a similar control; and now, at the end of another brief period of years, the ballot had declared a like result in North and South Carolina.

The fall of Alabama and Georgia occasioned but little comment, considered in connection with the importance of the event. The people had looked for this turn in their affairs, knowing that the Mongolian power was numerically sufficient for this purpose whenever it should be concentrated for that one object.

The popular discontent, which under more sudden provocation might have been sufficient to incite to acts of violence, was so neutralized by

anticipation that these two States bowed to the decree without even a formal protest.

But now the same question was to be passed upon by a State government of a different mold.

What Massachusetts has been among the States of New England, South Carolina has ever been among her Southern sisters—a species of dictatress. Her fanaticism and her patriotism are alike those of a section rather than merely of a State; and when her statesmen have spoken, whether at home or in the halls of Congress, they have uttered the sentiments of the whole Southern people, rather than simply those of the people of the State of South Carolina.

That she belonged to the ill-starred Confederacy was not for the love of war, nor for the chimerical advantage of prospective power, but to protect the integrity of her sovereignty as she understood it, and as it was interpreted to her by her great statesmen—and, by the same act, to help maintain the integrity of the Federal compact, as she understood it to be. But the conflict of arms settled those questions, and by an adjudication so emphatic that it left not even the power or right of appeal. South Carolina was coerced into compliance under this determination; but while she acknowledged the convincing force of the argument employed, she failed to discover its logic. She as implicity believed in the right of a State to exercise any act of sovereignty, not ex-

pressly limited by the Federal Constitution, at that day as she did when she hurled her armies against the inimitable legions of the North, half a century before.

She now saw the government of her people about to pass—and she believed, forever—into the hands of a race with whom she believed it impossible for the Caucasian to assimilate and avoid absorbtion and total annihilation. She believed, too, that she had come to interpret correctly the hidden purpose of the Chinese invasion, and that the time for action was at hand.

The Federal government was, apparently, under the spell of a fascination wrought by the presence of a large corps of high functionaries of the Chinese Empire temporarily resident at Washington.

Viewing these things, she knew that, unaided, her arm was powerless to check the tide of the Mongolian invasion. She expected, too, that now, as in the past, any protest by herself would receive the most damaging possible interpretation; that her disloyalty, her insubordination, her spirit of rebellion, would constitute a theme for Congressional discussion. Believing all this, she reasoned that any overt act on her part tending to resist the will of the majority in the matter of the installation of officers, would be promptly recognized at Washington by the march of Federal troops into her territory. She understood the

temper of the government, and reasoned well from her premises.

This was just the end she sought to attain, and with the least possible delay. Time had become eminently material. She saw that eleven States of the Union had passed over to the Mongolian citizens, in only two of which they had not the absolute control, and that it was only the question of a brief time until many others must follow the example of these.

She saw that the Administration was politically narcotized, and quite incapable of grasping the situation unless stimulated in that direction by the acts of the people. She saw that even extraordinary incentives had already failed to rouse to action, and she now proposed to supply a stimulus that would awaken the slumbering energies of the nation.

She conjectured, and rightly, that the masses, North as well as South, were ripe for revolution, and that the strife, when once precipitated, would soon regulate itself as to its direction.

Accordingly, upon proceedings brought for the purpose, the Supreme Court adjudged the election null and void. This result entitled the present incumbents to hold office until their successors should be elected and should qualify; but no measures were taken for calling a new election. Proceedings similar to these, and with like result, were had in North Carolina.

No sooner had the information of this proceeding reached Washington, and been confirmed, than the President issued his proclamation declaring the States of North and South Carolina in a state of insurrection, and ordering a suspension of the State governments. Military Governors were appointed, who, with ten thousand regular troops—more than half the infantry branch of the whole army, at that date—were dispatched to restore order, and assume the reins of the State governments until the rights of the various contending classes therein should be adjusted by Congress.

The Governors so constituted were clothed with the most absolute powers,—extending even to the suspension of the writ of *habeas corpus*, and the power to arrest and imprison upon suspicion.

The rebellious States now mustered their militia to the aggregate number of fifty thousand men; thirty thousand of which were dispatched to await, at the frontier of the State the arrival of the military Governors, with their escort.

But the contagion of revolution soon spread, and within thirty days after the President's proclamation, the Southern States—except only those in which the Mongolian element was supreme—were in open rebellion, and mustering their forces for the impending conflict. This rebellion, however, was against only so much of the Federal government as accorded civil rights to the Mon-

golian; with all else the people would have been satisfied.

But, at this juncture, an incident occurred, which complicated the difficulty, and gave to the war its true character.

In the States of Mississippi, Florida, Louisiana, Alabama, and Georgia, the Mongolian administrations not only refused to co-operate with the other States, but the militia, which, it will be remembered, was made up of Chinese soldiers, had received orders to suppress all riotous or treasonable gatherings, and to maintain the supremacy of the laws.

The white inhabitants of these States, having determined to support their white fellow-citizens of the whole South, had no sooner learned that the Carolinas had declared in favor of State Sovereignty and white supremacy, than they resolved to come to their support, and immediately began to arm and form themselves into military bodies. But, now, for the first time, they were made to feel as well as to see the deep humiliation of their position. The Mongolian Governors of those States, on the same day, issued their proclamations, couched in the same language, refusing to aid, counsel, or support the revolutionary party, commanding all armed bodies of men to disperse, and instructing the militia to preserve order; and to that end to use whatever force might be necessary.

The revolutionary party failing to take notice of the proclamations, the militia, to the number of two hundred thousand men, in the five States named, were called out and immediately proceeded to the execution of their orders. This so incensed the whites that they immediately proceeded to organize the white militia, and repelled the Mongolian, or State militia, when, in a few instances, the latter presumed to execute their orders. Thus it was that the race struggle began; a war of races, rather than a revolution, ensued.

Upon the arrival at the boundary of North Carolina of the military Governors of the two Carolinas and their warlike escort, they found waiting, to receive them, a militia force of twenty thousand men. This army, the Federal General did not deem it prudent to engage; and so, going into camp, beyond the border, he telegraphed to Washington for further instructions.

While matters were in this anomalous condition between the State and Federal authorities, the Mongolians throughout the two Carolinas were actively at work arming, and forming themselves into military companies, under the instructions of emissaries from the Imperial deputation at Washington.

Cat-like, in all their hostile movements, in this one they excelled even themselves, in their previous adventures; and, without attracting very general observation, had succeeded in placing

themselves in a most dangerously hostile attitude in all parts of these States. They proceeded, in great numbers, to the Capitals of both States during the last days of the term of office of the present incumbents; and, on the first day of the new term the officers elect, at the head of overwhelming forces of their countrymen, seized the archives of the State governments, the public offices and public buildings, and formally installed the Mongolian officers elect.

On the same day, the new Governors issued their proclamations, similar in most respects to those issued by the Mongolian Governors of the five States already mentioned, declaring martial law and calling upon all good citizens to arm and report for immediate service to their respective commanders, whom they designated, and who were appointed the officers of the new militia. The white militia was declared to be an unlawful and riotous assemblage, and commanded to disperse.

Columbia, S. C., was soon invested by fifty thousand Mongolian troops, and these were now constituted the State militia, while everywhere throughout the State the Coolies were arming, and assembling at designated points.

The deposed Governor of South Carolina, having escaped from the Capital, fled to Charleston, at which point he proceeded to re-establish the State government. This city was strongly

garrisoned by the white militia. From this position he issued his proclamation, in effect, that one hundred thousand Asiatic citizens of the State of South Carolina were now in open rebellion against the State government, and commanding the militia to assemble, to the number of fifty thousand men, forthwith, and take instructions for the promotion of the public safety and the restoration of public order.

The Mongolian Governors of the Carolinas, resolved not to be outdone in the matter of strategy, convened their Legislatures, and under their auspices, a call was made upon the President for Federal aid to assist the State authority in suppressing the white rebellion. As yet, the Federal government was disposed to co-operate with the Mongolian faction; and perceiving that the latter was in the possession of the State archives and the public buildings, and hence, that the will of the majority, as expressed at the late elections, was vindicated, in both States, recalled the military Governors heretofore appointed—but upon whom, peradventure, the honors never happened to rest—and instructed the troops which had been placed at their disposal, to proceed in equal detachments to the respective Capitals of the rebellious States, and, by acting in concert with the constitutional Governors, to maintain the supremacy of the laws of the United States and the constitutional rights of all the citizens thereof.

This recognition of the Chinese faction by the President of the United States, settled the last pretensions of the deposed Governors of these States to re-establish themselves in that capacity; but it by no means tranquilized the dissensions among the people.

The whole South was in open insurrection against the Chinese rule; and some of the New England States were nearly so. The Federal government feeling itself, as it believed, called upon to maintain the integrity of the Constitution as well as of the treaty stipulations, which it had contracted, and more or less influenced by the Imperial delegation at Washington, was disposed to support the claims of the Mongolians.

The partisan broils in the United States Congress were now, for the first time in half a century, suspended, and the representatives of the people were compelled to grapple with a revolution which their own folly and weakness had fostered and encouraged.

Three conflicting sentiments, or class interests, were now before the people, supported, in each instance, by an armed soldiery, nerved for a struggle, from which all could not reasonably hope to emerge with victory. There must be submission from some two to the other, and it was clearly evident from the bitter, manifest hostility that characterized the principal actors, that

the pending differences were not to be settled by compromise.

The first of these was represented by the white inhabitants of the South, about three-fourths of the inhabitants of the States of New England, and a large following elsewhere throughout the Middle and Western States. This embraced more than three-fourths of the white population of the United States. The second was the Asiatic element, having a representation of about six millions of men, in the absolute control of the whole Pacific Coast States, a heavy preponderance in the Southern States, and largely represented elsewhere throughout the Union. The third, and last, was the Federal government, with a following that might be very powerful to purchase a peace, if such were obtainable for gold, but such, also, as has never conquered a peace in the whole history of the world.

The first demanded the expulsion of the Asiatics from America, with no other condition than a limitation of the time within which their embarkation should begin, and the rate at which it should be conducted. A short time before, they would have been satisfied to retain the complement now in the country, provided they should be deprived of the right of citizenship; but now, that they felt the strength of their cause, they became more exacting, and clamored for total extirpation.

The second element demanded the strict ob-

servance, on the part of the United States, of their treaty stipulations with the Emperor of China, as also of the Act of Congress entitled "An Act to amend the naturalization laws of the United States, and for other purposes," under which they were clothed with the prerogative of citizenship; and they further demanded the right to the full and free enjoyment of whatsoever privileges the exercise of the prerogative of citizenship might confer.

In obedience to the proclamation of the deposed Governor of South Carolina, the white militia rapidly assembled at Charleston, which was now constituted the basis of their operations.

Meanwhile, the Federal troops, to the number of five thousand men, reached Columbia, where they found fifty thousand Asiatics under arms, and as many more awaiting the issuance of arms and equipments. With this force, the Mongolian Governor declared his purpose to crush the rebellion. The officer in command of the regular troops, in obedience to his orders, united his force with the State militia, and, after a few days spent in preparation, an army of sixty thousand men, consisting of fifty-five thousand Mongolian or State militia, and five thousand Federal soldiers, received orders to march against the rioters assembled at Charleston. The white militia, to the number of twenty thousand men, upon receiving information that the combined State and Federal troops were marching against them,

advanced without the city, and taking up a favorable position, awaited their arrival.

The two armies were soon face to face, within a few miles of Charleston. The commander of the Federal detachment, as *ex officio* commander of the expedition, immediately despatched his order to the white militia to disperse, and to deliver up the ex-Governor and the commander of the rioters. To this order and demand the latter replied by sending back the messenger, instructed to inform his commander that he would disband his forces "after the last Chinaman in America should be buried, or embarked for China or ——."

The government forces immediately formed in line of battle, with the regular troops on the extreme right, and at some distance from the main line of the State forces. At the extreme left, and to the rear, the commander of the Mongolian militia took his position, with a reserve of ten thousand men. The main body of the State forces moved forward to the attack.

Neither army had provided itself with cannon—the white militia, because they had convinced themselves that an army of Chinamen could not stand more than a single volley of musketry; and the Asiatics, because they did not expect any decided resistance. But both armies were quickly undeceived.

The first volley came from the advance line of the white militia, which proved exceedingly

THE BEGINNING OF THE END.

destructive; but the State forces, reserving their fire, simply closed up their ranks and advanced at a double-quick upon the enemy.

At this point, the regulars were ordered forward to attack the white militia on their left; but, with one accord, both officers and men refused to fire upon their countrymen.

The main column of the Asiatics now swept down and concentrated their fire upon the centre of the enemy, broke through their ranks, and succeeded in turning both wings of the army. Following up their advantage, they were mercilessly slaughtering the now thoroughly disordered masses of the whites; but the rank and file of the regular troops, no longer able to brook the scene before them, broke through the restraint of those of their officers who sought to prevent them, and engaged the Asiatics in the rear.

The commander of the State militia, taking in the whole situation, at a glance, ordered his reserve forward to cut off the regulars. By a rapid movement the reserve gained a position to the left and a little to the rear of that which the regulars had advanced, and poured a deadly, oblique fire into their lines. Before the regular troop had recovered from the confusion that was necessarily occasioned, a strong detachment of the attacking column in front, which had formed to resist their further advance, taking advantage of the confusion, rushed in a solid column into their shattered

ranks, and by the co-operation of the reserve, which prevented their retreat, killed or captured the entire detachment.

At the principal point of conflict, the Asiatics were not less successful. The white militia fought with the most determined ferocity. They rallied on either side, and made the most desperate and repeated efforts to effect a junction of the two wings of their army; but the main body of the State troops was thrown between, and the efforts were fruitless. This division, of course, prevented all possible concert of action, and every stand taken, or made, by the struggling divisions was swept down before the impetuous charge and overwhelming numbers of the Asiatics. The slaughter soon became general.

The white militia, overpowered by superior numbers and opposed by the most consummate military skill, fought to the last, proposing no terms of capitulation and refusing to accept any terms of surrender, and were shot down or bayoneted in great numbers; so that out of a force of twenty thousand men who marched out of Charleston, twenty-four hours before, less than seven thousand survived. The detachment of Federal troops was not more fortunate, for it seems to have suffered complete annihilation.

The State militia, having disposed of their wounded and buried their dead, marched into Charleston and demanded the surrender of the

late Governor; but upon the refusal of the city authorities to interest themselves in procuring his surrender, the immediate arrest of the Mayor and City Marshal was ordered, and their removal, to the Capital, for imprisonment. While the preliminaries of this command were being executed, the ex-Governor presented himself and offered to surrender, upon which occurrence the city officers were released. The victorious militia then took up its line of march for the Capital, leaving a garrison of fifteen thousand men, to prevent any further uprising at Charleston; and leaving the city to dispose of the dead and wounded of the white troops as she might elect.

The first great battle of the revolution had been fought, and the result was most alarming and unexpected. At least, eighteen thousand white American citizens had been ruthlesssly massacred.

Whatever might have been the provocation, there was found no one to justify this terrible sacrifice of life—particularly that the victims were native born Americans, and their adversaries a race alien alike to every sentiment and association of American life.

The voice of the people rang from every quarter of the Union, demanding an investigation of the Charleston massacre. Reprisals upon the Chinese inhabitants of cities far removed from the scene of the late engagement grew, daily, more

frequent, until the latter were roused to organize for defense in all parts of the Union.

The pressure of public opinion at length compelled Congress to adopt speedy measures for the purpose of obtaining some basis upon which to prosecute any violation of law or order that might be properly authenticated in connection with the Charleston tragedy.

A committee of Congress was accordingly appointed, and in due time proceeded to Columbia, S. C. After some weeks spent in examination and investigation of the massacre, the committee became satisfied of the atrocity of the massacre, and the unnecessary extent to which it had been prosecuted, and recommended the arrest of the Governor and the commander of the State militia of South Carolina.

No sooner had the nature of this recommendation been communicated to the latter, than they immediately caused the committee and their attendants, as they were about to return to Washington, to be seized and thrown into prison, reminding them, as they did so, that martial law was in force in South Carolina. The officer who shortly afterwards presented himself, armed with a warrant, to the commander of the militia, and informed him of his arrest, was yet more grossly outraged, by having his clothes stripped from his back, and, in that condition, being flogged, at the order of the commander, after which he was permitted to depart.

The conflict, in its true character, was now fairly begun. Throughout the whole of the South the Chinese arose simultaneously, seized the forts and arsenals, confiscated all private property readily convertible into army supplies, as well as all the funds of National, State and private banks. In the opposition which they encountered, they indulged a most cruel and savage rapacity, by the indiscriminate slaughter of the white inhabitants of whatsoever age or sex. They openly disavowed their allegiance to the government of the United States; and, as if to remove the last suspicion of their purpose from the minds of the people, they raised the standard of China to every eminence, whence they dragged down the national banner.

The whole territory south of the thirty-seventh parallel of latitude was declared to be a province of the Chinese empire. State subdivisions were no longer to be recognized. Columbia, South Carolina, was constituted the seat of the new government, and a Mandarin of high rank was installed as the Viceroy of America, under the Emperor of China.

So thoroughly had every element of this gigantic conspiracy rehearsed its part, and so perfect the subordination of each to its immediate superior, that the mere formal feature of the subversion of the South was accomplished without the slightest clash of authority or conflict of interest among the Mongolians, and without the presence of those

perilous misunderstandings which so often prove fatal to the execution of the best laid schemes.

Yet, the practical execution of this scheme, so admirably planned, was by no means unattended by difficulties. The American population of the South immediately organized for resistance. Forming themselves into companies, with such arms as they were enabled to procure they defended with the utmost heroic valor every point of attack. But being vastly outnumbered, poorly armed, and incumbered with the defence, or protection, of their women and children, their opposition was quickly overcome, themselves ruthlessly slaughtered, their children left homeless, to perish of destitution, and their wives and daughters carried off by the soldiery. Thus, the occupation of the whole South was speedily effected.

Upon receipt of the information at Washington that the whole Congressional Committee had been thrown into prison by the Governor of South Carolina, and the almost simultaneous report to the effect that the flag of the Chinese Empire was floating from all the public buildings and the fortifications of the South, the proclamation of the President was issued, calling out five hundred thousand men for one hundred days' service.

This was the first popular measure adopted by the government in the period of twenty years. The people began to think that the vigor of better days was returning to bless the nation with

contentment and equality again. Their patriotism was aroused at the prospect, and they pressed forward at the call of duty.

Recruiting offices, wherever established, were thronged with applicants, so that within a few weeks an immense army of brave, but inexperienced and untrained soldiers, was under arms and distributed to drive back the swarm of Asiatics which was fast pouring into the Middle States and sweeping down every opposition.

For the first time, it now began to dawn upon the nation at large, that the aim of the Asiatics was, indeed, conquest; and that, already, the country was in imminent danger. Additional calls for troops were rapidly made, until the whole Republic had assumed the character of a vast encampment.

The distribution of the hostile elements was particularly unfavorable to the American troops. It was not the relation of the people to an invading army, confined to territorial limits. The hostile forces were intremingled throughout the entire country, save only in those States lying south of the northern boundary line of North Carolina and Tennessee, and east of the Mississippi River, which was wholly in the hands of the Chinese before an American army could be organized; and the whole white population of which, that had escaped the massacre of the occupation, were either refugees, or prisoners in the hands of the enemy.

In the Middle and Western States, the Americans were largely in the majority. The Asiatics, in these districts, after a series of engagements, in which they were opposed by equal numbers, were compelled to sue for terms, which were granted. Notwithstanding their high military training, they were totally unable to withstand the incomparable bravery and matchless prowess of the American troops. But their compact military organizations fought with stubborn courage and great judgment, so that the victories gained were dearly bought. After a struggle of less than a year in duration, the strength of the American arms prevailed throughout the Middle and Western States; and three hundred and twenty thousand Asiatics, in several detachments, surrendered themselves as prisoners of war.

While these States had thus successfully prosecuted their local struggle, the contest in New England had assumed a most gloomy aspect. New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Rhode Island were virtually conquered by the Asiatics, some of their chief cities in ashes, their fortifications dismantled, and a victorious army of seven hundred and fifty thousand men preparing to march into Vermont and New York.

The forces, at this period, under arms, presented, in point of magnitude, the most imposing military establishment that the world has ever witnessed; and perhaps no such spectacle will

ever again be presented while time shall endure. The main body of the American army, to the number of a million and a half of men, stretched east from the mouth of Chesapeake Bay to the confluence of the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers. To the northward of this was an additional force of nearly a million of men, who were placed to guard the West from the Pacific Coast invasion, and the Middle States from New England.

In front of the main body of the Americans was the great bulk of the Mongolian army, numbering, it was estimated, about three and a half millions of armed men, while their force in New England consisted of an army of occupation to the number of five hundred thousand men, besides an aggressive force of seven hundred and fifty thousand. Toward the West, the Pacific States were sustaining a large force, and constantly receiving recruits.

As we look back, to-day, upon the picture presented at this stage of the conflict, we are enabled to see, more clearly than could the actors in this terrible drama, how desperate was the cause of liberty. Of the Americans, every available soldier was under arms, while the aged, the women and children were left, of necessity, to struggle for subsistence and sustain an army of non-combattant refugees from the South and from New England, besides.

Upon three sides, great armies were pressing

forward, determined to occupy this retreat of the nation's wards and refugees. The fathers, husbands and brothers of these, under arms, were still a living wall between those helpless millions and the swarming horde that sought to invade their retreat; but the terrible apprehension would not be assuaged, that those brave defenders might be swept away, at any moment, before the march of irresistible numbers.

The very life of the nation was in deadly peril. Human freedom was indeed struggling in the clutch of the destroyer. The country felt its danger, saw the gathering shadows of doom, and called to its kindred beyond the Atlantic to hasten to its aid.

CHAPTER XI.

EQUIPMENT OF THE HOSTILE FORCE——TRANS-PACIFIC CO-OPERATION——ARRIVAL OF THE CHINESE FLEET——NAVAL ENGAGEMENT——IMPORTATION OF TROOPS AND MUNITIONS OF WAR——THE ATLANTIC COAST——CONQUEST OF THE PACIFIC STATES——PREVAILING LAWS, CUSTOMS AND INSTITUTIONS ABOLISHED——THE IMPERIAL EDICT.

THE act of raising the Imperial standard of China, upon the soil of America, was, by pre-arrangement, fixed to mark the inauguration of an aggressive war by the Asiatics. At this signal, the toiling millions of the Southern States were hurried from their various humble and peaceful occupations, and, having arms placed in their hands, were marched, at once, to take possession of fortifications and all depositories of military stores. Owing to the almost entire absence of United States troops, this they were enabled to do against only such opposition as a poorly-armed people, infinitely inferior to themselves in numbers, and without discipline, were able to offer.

The Chinese were in possession of the State arms of most of the States which they sought to occupy, added to which, they had immense accumulations of arms and munitions of war that had

been forwarded from the Pacific Coast during several years, consigned to the Governors of Louisiana, Florida and Mississippi.

Ere yet the first soldier had been recruited under the President's proclamation, there was an army of more than a million Mongolians ready for the field, throughout the Southern States. Nor did they stop to estimate the number of soldiers that might be required to meet the contingencies likely to arise. They had resolved to crush down every opposition by the weight of overwhelming numbers. They had, practically, an inexhaustible source from which to draw their supplies; and they proceeded to avail themselves of the advantage thus afforded, by transporting the armed millions of China to our shores.

No sooner had the information been flashed to China, that her faithful subjects had unfurled the flag of empire over the most fertile and productive regions of the New World, than she called into active service all the wonderful energies of her empire, to carry to a successful issue the work so daringly begun.

A fleet of transports, loaded with troops and munitions of war, and flanked by a dozen powerful ironclads, was immediately despatched to San Francisco, the former to return immediately, without cargo, with sufficient escort to secure their safety, and leaving the remaining war vessels to await orders from the Viceroy.

At the Sandwich Islands, the expedition learned that a fleet of American vessels of war had blockaded the harbor of San Francisco. Thinking it important to avoid the risk of an engagement that might endanger the object of the expedition, the commander altered his course and reached San Diego, there discharged his troops and cargo; whence half a million of the best troops of the Chinese empire were transferred by rail to reinforce the main army. The transports were then escorted out to sea and placed in charge of two war vessels, to proceed to China, while the remaining vessels, excepting only three, which were ordered to cruise off the bay of San Diego, headed for San Francisco.

The American squadron in these waters consisted of two iron-clad frigates and two gun-boats. The enemy having secured the entry to the harbor by torpedoes, these vessels were unable to effect an entrance, and were compelled to cruise outside the harbor, in maintaining the blockade.

Seven large ironclads, floating the flag of the Chinese empire, were at length discovered by the Americans, who immediately cleared for action. Affecting to despise the apparently insignificant gun-boats, the enemy, as they drew near, delivered their whole fire against the frigates, which the latter returned with energy, for a brief time, but were soon dismantled and unmanageable. But the gun-boats, meanwhile, steamed into the very

midst of the Asiatic fleet, dealing their terrible blows under the guns of the enemy. The destruction of the latter's vessels seemed complete. Five were sunk and two so seriously damaged that they struck their colors and surrendered. An explosion occurring on board one of the gun-boats, she went to the bottom, but not until after the victory was complete. The remaining boat sustained but trifling injury.

By this time the demolition of both the American frigates was complete, and a gale setting in, they were driven helplessly against the shore and became a total wreck.

News of the disaster to the Chinese fleet was quickly despatched to San Diego, whereupon the three vessels cruising there headed at once for the bay of San Francisco. The commander, having been duly apprised of the formidable nature of the remaining vessel of the blockade, and of its mode of assault, quickly determined upon a plan of attack which he soon afterwards carried to a successful prosecution. Keeping beyond the reach of her guns, he brought his heaviest pieces to bear upon the gun-boat, and soon destroyed her turret and dismounted her turret gun. The commander of the latter now saw that his fate was sealed, and concluded to employ what time was still left him in completing the destruction of the previous engagement. The two iron-clads that had surrendered and which he had hoped to util-

ize, were now speedily rammed and sunk. But the condition of the gun-boat becoming more desperate, by the increased fury of the attack, perhaps, suggested its destruction to prevent it from falling into the hands of the enemy. In any event, whether by accident or design, she exploded her magazine and disappeared beneath the waves.

This engagement was decisive of the fate of the American navy on the Pacific. A powerful fleet soon afterwards arrived from China, which was appointed to guard the whole coast, from British Columbia to the Isthmus.

The direct importation of troops and munitions of war from China was now continued without interruption or fear of molestation; and within a year from the date of this engagement more than a million of Chinese soldiers were landed upon our shores.

Upon the Atlantic, however, the American navy continued supreme, and, for a time, seriously embarrassed the proceedings of the enemy in the coast cities. It soon became apparent to the Chinese that without a strong naval force on the Atlantic nothing could be done to protect the coast from the assaults of the American vessels. The shore batteries could do but little, and that little purely defensive.

But, to their purpose, the blockade of every harbor of the Atlantic was, after all, a matter of

secondary importance. Unable to protect them, they resolved to leave the coast cities to their fate for the present, leaving sufficient force, however, to cut off any troops that might be landed at such of the southern ports as they had not secured by torpedoes and other explosives; and, in the meantime, to devote their energies to the vigorous prosecution of the campaign at the interior. Their communication with the Pacific was uninterrupted. A line of railroad, connecting with all the principal ports of the Pacific, and having its eastern terminus at New Orleans, was entirely under their control; and as this was the avenue by which they obtained supplies, it was necessarily a matter of but little moment to the success of their cause whether the Atlantic ports were free or otherwise.

The Pacific States having been the first in which the Chinese citizens succeeded in obtaining control of the public affairs, their condition was, of course, eminently favorable for successful rebellion. There were no Federal troops to interfere with the prosecution of their interested motives, and, with the exception of a few judicial offices, there was not at the opening of the revolution, between Washington Territory and Mexico, a public position presided over by a native born American. Hence it was, that at the first note of the rebellion these States quietly transferred their allegiance to the Chinese empire, by deliberately

hauling down the American flag and raising in its stead the banner of their mother country. Here, too, as at the South, the political subdivisions ceased to be recognized; and for the whole territory thus occupied a single Governor was appointed by the Board, at Peking, to act under the supervision of the Viceroy.

This new establishment met with no resistance, for the reason that the American population had become too few for resistance. Further changes and modifications were, accordingly, soon effected, the first of these having relation to the administration of justice.

The Common Law system of jurisprudence was by far too subtle in its distinctions and too nice in its discriminations to dispense the quality of justice which was necessary to the regulation of Asiatic society. During the many years that the affairs of the country in which they were sojourners had been administered under its application the Asiatic mind had never become trained to grasp the causes which so often seemed to work the grossest injustice. They had seen felons of every grade upon trial, the proofs of whose guilt were conclusive; heard read the verdicts of the juries declaring them guilty; watched the Judges as they pronounced sentence with all-becoming gravity, and reasonably supposed that nothing was left but to carry the sentence into execution, with no thought that this grave and expensive proceeding

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was a mere farce to all purposes, if not so to all intents. They were quite unprepared to learn, a few weeks subsequently, that the felon of whose trial, conviction and sentence they had been witnesses, was free, and that his conviction was purely a mistake. If, upon inquiry, they should seek to ascertain in what the mistake consisted, they were very imperfectly satisfied with the explanation given, which might be, in effect, that the Judge had instructed the jury that a "reasonable doubt" meant such an one as excludes every hypothesis except that of the innocence of the prisoner; or that the Judge had made a few remarks to the jury, by way of defining legal terms, which were not submitted in writing nor recorded. The Mongolians neither understood nor respected refinements like these, which, in their judgment, did not rise even to the dignity of a Chinese farce, but belonged more properly to the dominion of patent absurdity.

A system thus abounding in metaphysical abstractions was not an instrument of justice which the Asiatic mind could utilize. Not only was it insufficient to settle even their civil differences, in accordance with their standard of justice, but they deemed it inadequate for the purpose of public protection even from violence. They reasoned that if through its meshes a criminal could escape punishment, of whose guilt there was no doubt, simply because the Judge did not happen to under-

stand the force of a distinction which he presumed to interpret, there was no power left in Asiatic morals that could step in to protect the people from murder or pillage. It was therefore decreed, immediately upon the transfer of their allegiance, that the laws and the language of China should be the laws and the language of this province of her empire; and that the code of laws under which the affairs of the country had been administered in the past be forever abrogated and repealed.

Having thus annihilated the last vestige of representative government within this territory, and erected upon its ruins the will of an individual, the new government turned its attention to the regulation of its political institutions.

First, under this head, the religion of Christianity, practiced by the native barbarians, was declared unlawful in most of its teachings, inasmuch as it conflicted with the religion of Confucius. Both its precepts and its forms were odious. On the whole, it was determined that as an institution it was neither conducive to the well-being of the barbarians themselves nor to the welfare of the faithful subjects of His Majesty the Emperor. These suggestions being submitted to the Emperor, at Peking, were disposed of with the brevity peculiar to the edicts of that august monarch, as follows:

"The Governor of our Pacific province, in America, reasons well. Let the religion of the

native barbarians in our said province be suppressed. This from the Emperor."

The promulgation of this edict was accompanied by a statement of the penalty for its non-observance. This latter recited, that as the edict was, and conveyed the direct expression of, the Imperial will, any violation was an act of resistance to the Imperial pleasure, and punishable with death.

This had the desired effect. If there were those among the Asiatics who had imbibed the doctrines preached to them by the Christian zealots, or among the remnant of the American population who still loved and cherished those precepts, that were among the first their infant lips had learned to utter, and which were doubly sanctified by every association of home and kindred, they have left no record to show that they resisted the decree, and the weight of their consequent trials and persecutions. Martyrs there may have been, and doubtless were, under the cruel obligation of this edict, but neither their names nor the story of their martyrdom has survived the wreck of war and the ruins of conquest.

The subjugation was complete. The sceptre had passed from the hand of a free, enlightened and generous people. In the matter of territory, a mighty empire had been lost and won ; for that which once comprised the Pacific States of the great American Republic, was now, in every element of fact, as well as in theory, a dependency of the Chinese Empire.

CHAPTER XII.

AMERICANS AND EUROPEANS FROM AN ASIATIC STANDPOINT——INTRIGUE AGAINST EUROPEAN INTERVENTION——RUSSIA AND ENGLAND IN CENTRAL ASIA——THE STRUGGLE TRANSFERRED TO EUROPE——THE EASTERN QUESTION——AUSTRIA AND GERMANY ——THE "PLAINS OF MURSA"——SMALL CAUSES AND GREAT EFFECTS——THE BALANCE OF POWER——FRANCE——ANOTHER BONAPARTE——A MEXICAN REVOLUTION ANALYZED——HOW THE SOUTH AMERICAN REPUBLICS FIGHT.

IN the conception as well as in the execution of their scheme of conquest, it would seem as though the wise heads of the Chinese administration had prepared for every possible contingency.

They had long had correct information of the affairs of the government of the United States, through means of their agents, who, as we have already seen, had not only ascended to the positions of Governors of States, at an early stage of the conquest, but had likewise obtained large representation in the halls of Congress.

Of the power of China, to crush down, by force of superior numbers, the most formidable army that the United States could possibly raise, she was fully satisfied; but she was by no means satisfied that Europe would remain an indifferent spectator of the struggle. She reflected that the peo-

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ple on both sides of the Atlantic were not only of the same race, but that their civilization, their literature, their religion, their customs and manners, and even their domestic habits of daily life were the same—that their languages were common to the educated classes, and their sympathies identical. She concluded that the United States would endeavor to obtain European co-operation as soon as they should discover that their national independence was imperilled; and the statesmen of China were disposed to believe that unless the European nations were furnished sufficient employment at home, their co-operation would surely be extended. It was, therefore, determined, on the part of China, to furnish them such employment as would call into active play all their warlike energies, and secure their non-intervention in trans-Atlantic affairs.

To carry out this purpose, she cast about to discover the most expeditious and effectual method to carry discord into Europe, and soon discovered a garden spot in which to plant the unholy seed that was destined to drench the soil of Europe with the blood of her people. She discovered, at her very door, the little principality of Afghanistan, which had been thrice overrun by British soldiers, and which had the prerogative of independence wrested from its crown, although the shadow was permitted to remain. The Afghanistans are a brave people, untrained to war and inured to all

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the habits of peace. Eminently proud of their antiquity, as a people, they felt keenly the degradation of their political relation with the British empire, and longed for an opportunity to throw off the galling yoke.

This little principality was the humble instrument through which China now resolved to involve Europe in a flame of war.

What mattered it that the little State might be blotted out from the sisterhood of nations, or that it might be selected as the battle ground for two of the most powerful empires of the earth. Considerations like these have never curbed the ambitious designs of conscious power. She procured the Afghanistans to turn against their dictators, to call in the aid of their southern neighbor, raise the standard of revolt and establish themselves as a protectorate under the Russian empire. She had already prepared Russia to accept the trust; and she reasoned rightly that England would never relinquish, without an obstinate struggle, this advantage to her formidable rival.

A sudden revolt and a widespread massacre of the English throughout the whole of Afghanistan, were the first fruits borne by this sprouting intrigue. As erst, an army of Sepoys, officered by Englishmen, was soon upon the Indian frontier of Afghanistan, but only to find its further progress opposed by a powerful army of Russian veterans.

But it is not the province of this work to enter into the details of the Anglo-Russian struggle which ensued, any further than to show the manner in which the torch of war was communicated to Europe, and there fostered and maintained.

No doubt but that the history of this conflict would be highly interesting and instructive; but a digression here that would lay the details before the reader, although it might be excused, on general principles, would be outside the purpose of this volume, and hence unwarrantable. I will, therefore, leave the details of the Asiatic question for the historian of that conflict, and proceed to show how the contagion was imparted to every portion of Europe.

The success of the Russian arms in Asia, compelled England to carry the war into Europe, where, through the instrumentality of her powerful fleet she might repair her losses upon the land.

Russia had anticipated the presence of an English squadron in the Black Sea, and expecting that this would be likely to lead to complications between herself and her ancient enemy at Constantinople, concluded a treaty with Germany, one of the provisions of which was that the latter, in the event of Russian complications with Turkey, would guarantee the neutrality of Austria.

The disposition of Turkey toward the contending forces was not long a matter of doubt, for the Sultan freely declared his purpose to make com-

mon cause with England. The Eastern question was therefore once more at issue, and the contending parties were making the most gigantic preparations—preparations that were destined to result in the removal of an ulcer that for four centuries had inflamed and irritated the peace of Europe.

Once more the Russian columns were on the south bank of the Danube, and taking up their several lines of march for Constantinople. The Slavonic peoples throughout their course of march were enthusiastic, and so far from protesting against the violation of their territories, offered their great champion free transit, and attached themselves by thousands to the Russian armies. This demonstration it was that particularly aroused the jealousy of Austria. She dreaded the encroachments of her powerful neighbor, for she well understood the unquenchable ambition of the House of Romanoff. The possession by Russia of territory contiguous to her own, on the south of the Danube, would be a standing menace to the power, if not, indeed, to the very independence of Austria. She therefore resolved to strike at a time when Russia was engaged in her struggle with the allied powers of England and Turkey, under the well-grounded conviction that the combined strength of the three powers would settle forever the pretensions of Russia to dictate the policy of the Slavonic peoples, as well as her pros-

pects of territorial acquisition among the Danubian principalities.

This determination appealed to Germany for the enforcement of her guarantees to Russia, under the treaty ratified by the two governments. The German note had been received by the Austrian government, clearly implying that Germany must regard any act of interference by Austria, in the Anglo-Russian contest, as endangering the peace of Europe; and that further perseverance in her present course would be followed by a suspension of diplomatic relations between Austria and herself. Austria, however, relying upon the attitude of the French republic toward the German empire, readily justified herself in disregarding the latter's admonition. She believed that France awaited only a favorable opportunity to reclaim her Rhenish provinces; and that Germany would not hazard an active interference in the Eastern difficulty at the risk of so great a contingency. She, therefore, continued to arm and to concentrate her forces along the frontier of Servia, determined to struggle for the autonomy of Turkey as the most likely means of curbing the dangerous ambition of Russia.

Meantime, the principal actors in the tragedy had determined upon their several courses of action.

The British fleet was before Constantinople and its defenses, manned by British and Austrian sol-

diers, while the grandest army ever equipped by a Russian sovereign approached from behind. This latter had already routed the allied forces of Austria and Turkey in two engagements near the Servian frontier, and was now enjoying an uninterrupted march toward Adrianople, where a still more powerful combination of all the allies was formed to check its further progress.

But, the moment had arrived when Germany felt herself called upon to act. She had guaranteed the neutrality of Austria, and that guarantee had been violated.

She could have brooked the warlike preparations of Austria, and looked with composure upon the marshalling of her armies within her own territory. While her demonstrations were confined to acts like these, she considered that her interference would be dictatorial and unwarrantable; but, now that she had penetrated beyond her own boundaries, violated the neutrality of a defenseless state, and actually participated in a battle upon the soil of Turkey, Germany could no longer hesitate.

With that characteristic expedition which has made the troops of Germany invincible in the late European wars, she now commenced the mobilization of her immense armies.

"On, to Vienna!" once more became the battle-cry; and her legions soon penetrated to Vienna and far beyond; for, experiencing unexpected difficulty in reducing the capital, her armies swept

southward, until once more the ancient plains of Mursa echoed to the thunders of war; and a mightier army than that of Magnentius reddened with its blood the sacred waters of the Drave. Here the power of Austria was overthrown in a general engagement.

Thus, sixteen centuries after the factions of Rome had crippled, forever, the power of the Western Empire, the scene of that fratricide witnessed another struggle—one that led directly to the annihilation of the power which swept the last monument of Roman majesty from the face of Europe. At Mursa, the first great spasm of advancing dissolution shook the frame-work of the Roman Empire: at Mursa (now Esseck) the last of the Byzantine Cæsars was, at last, avenged.

Had Germany remained satisfied with her victory, not only might the Eastern question have been localized and settled without further disturbance, but Europe might have returned to the contemplation of her peaceful pursuits without apprehension: the United States might have obtained the assistance which their great extremity demanded, and thus have emerged from their great peril purified by suffering and ripened in wisdom by the terrible experience through which they had passed. But the inscrutable things of destiny had not been fulfilled, and Fate clamored for their fulfillment. Circumstances, insignificant in themselves, have ever been liable to lead to results of

the greatest magnitude and importance; and human actions, thoughts and associations are so interwoven, without our recognition, that even the willful pleasure of an individual, reduced to action, in an obscure corner of the globe, may lead to revolutions and the overthrow of empires. Indeed, the august representatives who constituted the Berlin Congress were called together pursuant to a circumstance so ignoble as the lawless gratification of his baser passions by a Turkish Bey, at a remote hamlet in Herzogovinia.

In the present controversy, Germany would not suffer to pass, without full recognition, so fair an opportunity to add to the power and wealth of her empire. While her army was quartered in the capital of Austria, she was in a position to dictate her terms. She had placed herself in a similar position once before, and her success in that instance lent force to her present audacity. The war indemnity which she sought to exact was so absurdly extravagant that Austria, even in her humiliation, could not entertain a thought of acquiescence in the condition proposed. This suggested the dismemberment of the Austrian empire, Germany claiming the right to indemnity by the appropriation of sufficient Austrian territory to give symmetry and compactness to her southeastern boundary.

Up to this time France had remained a passive spectator of the struggle going on among her

eastern neighbors. This last attempt, however, was aimed at the balance of power in Europe, and hence a menace even to France. She therefore simply declared that France would remonstrate against any dismemberment of the conquered State.

But Germany had already apportioned to herself the indemnity territory, and it required more than a simple remonstrance to change her purpose. Already her armies were mustering on the Rhine in anticipation of a yet more forcible protest from France; nor was she disappointed. Another Bonaparte, upon whom had descended the military spirit and genius of his great ancestor, led the legions of the French republic, and once more that wonderful people carried victory to her arms beyond the Rhine.

By this very condensed review of the intrigues of China, of the status of the Eastern question, and that other intangible thing which has hung like a nightmare over the peace of Europe, and is known as the "Balance of Power," I have shown, although somewhat imperfectly, yet sufficiently for my purpose, the condition of Europe at the time when America so urgently demanded her sympathy and support. All her first-class powers were engaged in the prosecution of the most destructive general war that had visited Europe since the age of the French Revolution.

It necessarily followed that the appeal which

rang out from America fell among peoples too immediately occupied to harken to its voice. Their own liberties were either threatened or actually invaded, and demanded their first and undivided attention. They had been forced by circumstances upon a career of war, and they had no guarantee that any one of them should emerge from its rigorous discipline with her national independence secured.

So far as Europe was concerned, therefore, the intrigue of China had borne the fullest measure of success, and America must fight her battles alone.

At home it were vain to expect any valuable assistance or support. Her neighbors were already marked for doom, and only suffered to enjoy their independence while the one power of America that might be considered formidable was undergoing the process of subjugation.

Mexico, in a condition of happy thoughtlessness upon matters of national regeneration, was indulging in the enjoyment of her chronic rebellion. Pronunciamento and counter-pronunciamento were hurled backward and forward between her rival factions with the most reckless abandon. Presidents elected, appointed, created, proclaimed, were deposed and succeeded by others holding under a like precarious tenure, as one faction or the other happened to hold possession of the capital. Ministers of State, untrained to diplomacy, succeeded others more or less ignorant,

and were in turn supplanted, at each succession, while an army of sycophants flanked every public functionary, and, by a successful course of flattery, obtained unnumbered chartered privileges to plunder the beggarly remnant of the people.

Mexico was, indeed, in her glory. Her ambitious men were bedecked (as were their horses) with gold and silver, lace and embroidery, plundered from whomsoever dared to be enterprising and industrious. Her middle class was clothed in rags, and her poor class, thanks to her genial climate and spontaneous productions, were enabled to go naked and subsist on the bounties which Nature had provided.

The Viceroy contemplated this picture with a sense of gloating satisfaction. There, where once arose the stately architecture of a people with whom he claimed race, and, perhaps, national, kindred, ere yet the avarice of the Spanish conquerors had become inflamed by the contemplation of the fabulous treasures of the Aztec Princes —there his august sovereign would found another empire, greater by far than that which the vandal armies of Spain had blotted from the earth.

The republics of South America were likewise luxuriating in their wonted struggles. Their treasuries exhausted; their national credit no longer negotiable either at home or in the markets of the world, they were unable to maintain even a defensive war, except of that emasculated character

peculiar to themselves. To engage in any manner in the prosecution of a foreign war was an enterprise illimitably beyond the reach of any South American State, or even of them all combined.

It was plain that the struggle of the North American Republic with the Asiatic invader must be determined by the superior prowess of the immediate parties themselves. She had called upon Europe, and found her kindred there in a condition of uncertainity and peril almost as imminent as her own. She had scanned the sisterhood of States throughout both Americas, only to discover a chain of governments revelling in anarchy and the indulgence of every species of licentiousness.

From the contemplation of those pictures she turned again to her own. Millions of brave hearts there still remained ; millions of hands that dared, defended ; the cause of liberty trembling in the balance, and a circumfluous tide of invasion on every hand. But another scene was there ; for above the armed hosts of the Republic the Spirit of Freedom fanned with celestial wing the spark of hope that nerved to whatsoever might befall—whether it be the cheerful acclaim of the nation's glory or the dismal sentence of a nation's doom.

CHAPTER XIII.

ARMY CHARACTERISTICS——THE STRUGGLE FOR EXISTENCE——GLORY AND GOLD——MONGOLIAN REVERSES——SUPPLIES BEGIN TO FAIL ——NEGATIVE SUCCESS——PRACTICAL INFINITUDE——THE BOUNDARIES OF FREEDOM——THE SPIRIT OF COLONIAL DAYS——THE WOMEN OF AMERICA——FAMINE: ITS PROGRESS AND ITS VICTIMS ——MATERIAL EXHAUSTION.

HAVING stationed large detachments of troops along the coast in order to protect the rear of the army, the Chinese now began a series of vigorous movements in front of the American lines. But in these aggressive demonstrations there was no rashness, but the systematic manœuvring of an army thoroughly trained to the work in hand. In this case, as in all else to which the Asiatic has devoted his endeavors, his course was marked by the same passiveness and patient perseverance that might have characterized it had every step of its progress been the order of a specific calculation.

The army which now mustered at the interior was such an one as a Frenchman would expect to see dissolve from a gradual course of disintegration, by reason of an insufficiency of the vital principle to give motion, or even cohesion, to its pon-

derous bulk. No sounds of enthusiasm bespoke the fervor of its spirit or lightened the weighty majesty of its purpose; no martial music quickened its sluggard circulation; but cold blooded as the serpent that inhabits the land whence it sprang, its very torpor was suggestive of its native hideousness, its latent venom and its cruel power.

Let them that would interpret the possibilities of an army from a contemplation of its *esprit de corps* remember the while, that the consideration of race becomes an important factor.

The buoyant disposition of the Caucasian will not suffer a restraint that would aim to stifle the exuberance of his spirits, and with particular emphasis will this remark apply when military glory is the promised reward of daring military adventure. With the Mongolian, the case is different. He is indifferent to glory; he is partial to peace, and he loves luxury. But, above and beyond all these, he worships gold, and will imperil all else that will fairly promise its acquisition as an alternative. This is the individual characteristic of the Mongolian in this particular, and it is doubly intensified by individual aggregation.

That which enthusiasm gives to the European soldier this sordid prepossession gives to the Mongolian, and under its stimulus he becomes the instrument of a stolid daring that renders him oblivious alike to the passions that might impel a rude nature to acts of cruelty, or the emotions that

a gentle nature might experience to save. The victory for which he struggles has that one object —acquisition—in the pursuit of which he coolly and deliberately hurls defiance into the face of death, and pressess onward to conquest and the grave.

It demanded the exercise of all this stolid persistence, even supported as it was by unlimited numbers, to withstand the reverses that the armies of China encountered at the opening of the last struggle with the organized armies of the United States.

While her comparatively compact soldiery were sweeping through the South, or devastating New England, opposed only by a poorly-organized, poorly-armed and thoroughly demoralized people, encumbered by the care of their women and children, and tied to localities by those that forged around them the chains of natural affection, the work of conquest seemed almost simple. But the aspect of the conflict had begun to present a widely different front. The American intellect had improvised new engines of war, new methods of destruction, the operation of which seemed destined to challenge the fullest capacity of speedy reinforcement by the mother country. By numbers vastly inferior to their own, the Asiatics were swept down at every engagement, and it soon became evident to the Viceroy that nothing short of complete and absolute exhaustion of the Amer-

icans, by prolonging the period of conflict, would ever avail to crown the Asiatic cause with victory. He saw that his losses in killed at each engagement, notwithstanding the vast superiority in number of his troops, were more than double the losses sustained by the Americans from the like cause, while the inferior surgical skill of the Hospital Department of his own army could save but a comparatively trifling proportion of the wounded. From local causes, however, the mortality in camp occurring among the Mongolians was less in proportion to their numbers than in the camps of the Americans.

Unfortunately for the American cause, as well as for the comfort and availability of the American armies, the struggle originated in a surprise. The war had assumed the proportions of an irrepressible rebellion in the brief space of a few months after its indications first became manifest. Up to that hour the quarrels and contentions of the political factions had so occupied the country's attention that the contingency of war was one for which no provision had been made. The country was, therefore, to the last degree unprepared for this emergency. Of munitions of war there was an abundance, partly from the fact that these could be manufactured to supply any demand, while the materials for their composition were abundant. But the supplies of provisions and clothing sufficient for an immense army were fast becoming

exhausted, and there was nowhere from which to expect a fresh supply.

Not only the army, but what remained of the once proud population of the United States must be sustained. Of this latter one-third had been sent abroad to escape the horrors of war and the still greater horrors of a peace that might bring with it the practical vassalage of a conquered people. Many were scattered over the Western Territories, or were refugees in the British possessions; while the numbers that were still held as prisoners in the South, their condition and their final disposition, were matters wrapped in the most impenetrable mystery.

For two years the struggle had been protracted, and victory after victory had crowned the cause of Freedom. But they were victories that carried within them the germ of ultimate defeat. They were only victories in the field—the victory of an army over another army with which it happened to become engaged. They extinguished no enthusiastic fire in the ranks of the mutilated armies of the foe, nor led to panic nor rout; for neither enthusiasm nor the spirit that impels to panic was ever enthroned upon its standards. It might be said of those victories in the field that they tended toward the exhaustion of the enemy; but the vapors that arise from the bosom of the sea may suggest the transmutation of the ocean itself into the ether whence it came. But this recognition of

the attribute of potentiality is the most that could be assumed. In like manner might the victories of the patriots suggest to the contemplative mind the annihilation of the whole human race by the power of a single arm constantly destroying, but indestructible by human strength or human artifice in itself; but the principle is not applicable to practical life, and could give no hope nor encouragement to the defenders of their country, beset by a practically inexhaustible foe.

As yet, less than half a million of the invaders had been slain, and behind was a reservoir of nearly five hundred millions to supply the devastation of war; while the fallen soldiers of the Republic left behind them no source of substitution.

Another Winter was approaching; and this time to find the army of the Republic destitute of even the rude comforts of army life, and confined to a latitude where the rigor of Winter is unassuaged by either sunshine or calm for a period of many months. Within its martial circle, and comprising the territory over which the flag of the Union was still permitted to wave, were sixteen States, including New Jersey, on the east, and Iowa, on the west. Within these limits was concentrated all that remained of American independence, republican freedom, and the nationality of the union of States—all that remained of the people, of their wealth, and of the proud inheritance of their fathers. But not alone those ves-

tiges of national greatness, for there was present, besides, enough to recall those gloomy narratives of history that picture war's sullen desolation, or the active horrors of a siege. Here, too, was the abode of disease, of famine, of human suffering.

The class distinctions which once divided the people had long since disappeared, and American life returned, first, to the simplicity of colonial days, then to a condition of common distress, unparalleled by the experience of Revolutionary times.

The women of America, whom wealth and all its attendant advantages, its fascinations and its allurements, had unfitted for purposes of general utility in the brighter days of the Republic, under the new discipline of adversity soon reasserted the inherent divinity of their nature. Untrained to labor, yet they soon learned to toil; unaccustomed to want, yet they bore, without complaining, the hardships of destitution. Theirs were the hands that cultivated the fields; theirs the labor that supplied the army with raiment. Their lively sympathy readily anticipated the myriad vicissitudes of the soldier's career, and were ever ready to meet new emergencies by new sacrifices. They had learned to discard the common comforts of life, having long since denied themselves its luxuries, that both these might be made to subserve the common purpose of defence and contribute to the availability of the army.

But the burden could not longer be borne. Exhausted nature is imperative when she demands repose, and if the demand be too long denied her, in the usual method of its enjoyment, the quiet of death becomes a last and unfailing refuge

Thus fared it with the maidens and matrons of America. Their self-denial, alone, had availed to maintain an army long after it must have fallen, exhausted, without their aid. But the effort had made them martyrs. They chose to perish, that the army might survive to emancipate their country. The courage which was far too human and too generous to hurl destruction from the cannon's mouth into the ranks of a foe, and far too gentle to withstand the brutal carnage of battle, was yet so fearless of the visitation of death that it shrank not even from the agonies of death by famine, when the dictates of duty seemed to demand the sacrifice.

And famine was at length abroad, and the tidings of its ravages were afloat on every rumor. Before it the aged and the youth were alike powerless, the while gentle allies of the begrimed soldier of the camp were falling by thousands before a foe more deadly in its onslaughts than even the myriad horde of the invaders. Death by starvation, with all its countless delusions and its nameless horrors, had begun to add new torments to the terrors of the siege. Some there were that sank by the highways or in the snow-clad fields,

whither, in their delirium, they had strayed to feast upon the bounties which a disordered imagination had spread before them; others there were that sought relief in the refuge of the suicide. As the mirage, that rises from the desert to mock the thirst of the wanderer lost upon its arid expanse, so started into being whole armies and processions of phantoms from this waste of woe to mock with visions of profusion and luxury the one consuming necessity of life. Every unattainable desire became individualized and personified, and the imagination reveled in scenes that often served to neutralize the pangs of suffering, and to smooth the pathway to the grave.

How pitiless becomes the demon of Famine when once the conditions for its sway have been attained; but how well adapted to soothe the torments which it inflicts are those munificent treasures of the imagination, that grow brighter and more apparently real as the system totters to ruin! Feasts, spread out with all the luxuries ever pictured by fact or by fable, are ever in view, as the body proceeds to prey upon its own tissue. Portly waiters and lively guests come and go, laugh and chat, dine and assist others to dine; the wine sparkles in the goblets; song resounds; toasts go round; and the guests retire, and others succeed them in one eternal round. The famishing dreamer sees all, and to him all is real. Only happy faces are there; all are strangers; but in their

conversation were mentioned the names of those he had known. Occasionally a glance wanders to his retreat, but is again calmly diverted or withdrawn. He might have mingled with the throng, but forever some trifling obstacle intervened. New scenes present themselves if he turn from this, and abundance marks every festival.

Another victim of the same cruel lot gazes upon illimitable forests hung with golden fruits that stretch out before her vision, far as the eye can reach. Groping crowds wander listlessly among its shadows, or settle themselves upon rustic benches to feast upon its bounties, pendant from every branch. Now she wishes to pass unnoticed into the throng, and partake of this abundance that seems spread for all; but ever some obstacle, trifling in itself, but quite insuperable, under the circumstances, is interposed. In chagrin the dreamer turns from the contemplation of the scene. But now she is observed. A few individuals have divided themselves from the rest, and approach the spot where she sits. Her first impulse is to fly; but no! There is the impress of serious purpose upon each kindly face. Again her alarm increases as the visitors draw yet nearer; but it were now useless to retreat. They have come, they say, to remove all those obstacles to her enjoyment; and, returning again, they beckon her to follow. She hesitates, but is drifted forward by some mysterious impulse of command. The last obstacle is

removed ; she passes to newer scenes—the dreamer's record is closed forever. Another corse has fallen by the way ; the earth her couch ; the beautiful snow her winding sheet—a fitting emblem of the soul that has fled.

From boundary to boundary the country is wasted. The granaries are empty ; the storehouses reprove, by their empty walls, the vaunted productiveness of the soil. The farm-yard no longer echoes to the noisy hum of domestication: the roar of the city and its bustling throngs have alike vanished. The sounds of labor are hushed, and scenes that erst had rung with the thoughtless revelry of youth are noiseless now, except as they give tongues to the driving storms that proclaim the reign of Winter. Dismantled buildings, whose timbers have furnished fuel to comfort, with artificial warmth, the last hours of noble lives, stand like the ruins of another age. Ghastly human figures drag themselves from place to place, aimlessly directing their tottering footsteps onward and still onward, they know not whither. Some are crouched upon the earth ; and, having stripped the snow from its bosom, with bloodless hands, struggle with the frost-bound soil for the possession of roots or grasses. Others strive to subsist upon the twigs and branches of trees ; but one by one they sink down exhausted ; night sets in, and his dusky mantle shuts out the last glimmering of day, as it noiselessly falls upon this drama of

death. Another hearth is desolate; another day has folded up its round of mortality.

But how fared it with the army, meantime? By a slow, but certain process, the country had given up all—even its very life—to maintain in the field an army capable of repelling the enemy at whatever direction he might attempt to advance. The army had done its duty. The expectant invader, still, after the struggle had been prolonged for years, saw before him yet, the bristling lines of the enemy. He knew nothing of the condition of that army; it was sufficient that it was still as menacing in its appearance as it had been in any period of the past. But, worse than this, it was invincible. Of that he was satisfied; for as yet he had not obtained his first victory, although he had chronicled a hundred battles.

But famine first, and after that, disease, found its way into the ranks of the army, and then this last bulwark of liberty began to totter. Having exhausted the country, the army now began to exhaust itself. First, the cavalry horses were slaughtered to furnish food to the soldiers; then followed the slaughter of all draught animals; and, lastly, even the vagabond dogs, that subsisted upon the refuse of the camps, were killed and eaten, that the soldier might live to defend his country, yet another day.

CHAPTER XIV.

National and Army Diet——War and Agriculture at the South——Occupation of American Prisoners of War——The Chinese Army in New England——Hunger and its Influence——The Beginning of the End——The First Mongolian Victory——Pillage——March of the Conqueror——Washington in Danger——The Soldiers' Reflection——The Last Stronghold.

Owing in some degree to the comparatively simple wants of the Asiatic soldier, considered in connection with those of the American, but chiefly to the fact of the existence of an uninterrupted communication between the army and China, and to the productiveness of the rice fields of the Southern States, the invading army suffered but little inconvenience from the lack of the usual and necessary supply of food.

Among the Chinese, animal food cannot properly be said to be a part of the national diet; so that subsistence with them is in no degree contingent upon the extent of their flocks and herds. And yet, these people are capable of enduring the utmost toil and the most unremitting labor, without manifesting the usual symptoms of exhaustion.

Compared with the ordinary associations of life

among the Chinese, the hardships incident to the life of the soldier are inconsiderable. Then, too, there was nothing in the climate of the Southern States so essentially different from that of China as to render any change of the national diet necessary; so that rice and tea were about the only articles of food furnished the Mongolian army, and of the former nearly every pound consumed was produced in the conquered territory, only the tea and necessary clothing having to be imported from abroad.

The government of the Viceroy had been careful that no opportunity should be lost in a matter of so much importance as the maintenance of his armies. With a view to the most economic and effective manner of securing this end, a full complement of laborers was kept constantly at work producing such articles of consumption as might be necessary for the use of the army and the maintenance of the prisoners which he still retained. Of these latter, the men were compelled to work, side by side, with the ordinary Coolie laborer, at whatsoever drudgery the latter might have in hand, while their health or strength permitted, which was usually a very brief period at certain unfavorable seasons, and never at any season a period of great duration.

The simplicity of the diet furnished to the Asiatic soldiery, and its adaptability to the hereditary physical constitution of the Chinese people

had the most salutary effect upon the health of the army, so that while disease and famine were devastating the ranks of the Americans, the Mongolian forces were in the enjoyment of health and abundance.

This condition is, however, subject to one qualification which will apply solely to those of the Chinese troops in the occupation of the New England States. These had subsisted upon stores captured at the opening of the rebellion, together with such supplies as were subsequently surreptitiously forwarded to them by fictitious consignments from the ports of Georgia and South Carolina, and before the American navy had been fitted up for coast service, and afterwards, before the true nature of the traffic had been detected. But those supplies were at length becoming scarce, while all communication with the South was cut off by the troops of the Republic by land, and by her navy by sea. This circumstance, by bringing to the surface the true nature of the individual Mongolian, infused a new spirit into the Mongolian army at the east, and introduced a new element into the struggle.

The same causes that operated to enervate the martial spirit of the European race, produced the directly opposite effect upon the Asiatic. No sooner had it become necessary to place a restricted limit upon the quantity of food furnished to the American soldier than the result became

plainly apparent in his lack of ambition and his waning efficiency. But in the ranks of the Asiatics the first effect of hunger was to kindle the native ferocity of the soldier into a furious and ungovernable flame of action.

In this will appear the essentially different attributes of the contending races. With the former the principle for which he contends is the highest incentive to endeavor, and his efforts fail only as fail the physical powers by which they are sustained. With the latter, the whole endeavor of which he is capable is liberated only by an unanswerable appeal to his animal nature.

Thus it was that the New England army of occupation, finding its supplies approaching an extremity, determined to effect a junction with the main body of the army of the south. To do this it was determined to march directly from New York along the eastern slope of the Alleghanies, and connect with the main army in Virginia.

This resolution was taken at a time when famine and disease had begun to devastate the soldiers of the Republic. The commander in New England found means of communicating his purpose to the army of the south, and the latter at once took upon itself the work of co-operation.

At the appointed time the aggressive force of the New England army, numbering more than half a million of men, moved forward and engaged the American lines, extending from the northeastern

boundary line of Pennsylvania northward through the State of New York. About the same time the southern army once more advanced and engaged the Americans, this time near Petersburg, in Virginia. Here an obstinate and bloody struggle resulted in the withdrawal of the attacking columns, to make preparations for a renewal of the attack. But the induced ferocity of the northern, or New England, army had accomplished what neither superior numbers nor the skill nor courage of the best armies of China had heretofore at any point effected. The eastern division of the Republican guardsmen was cut to pieces, and the first victory in the field had at length rewarded the obstinate purpose of the invaders. No prisoners were taken, as no man surrendered. It was a victory which carried with it the extermination of an army.

The victorious troops now took up their line of march toward the south, leaving the whole eastern frontier of the hitherto unconquered States open to the ravages of the soldiery, which was now in the occupation of the newly-conquered territory. But little, indeed, was presented to arouse the cupidity of the Asiatic soldiery. The wretched inhabitants who had thus far escaped the ravages of famine and disease, fled to the interior, regardless of whatever dangers or hardships might befall, and intent only upon escaping from the unknown horrors of capture. Fortunately for those defence-

less fugitives, however, the demand for food had stifled all the more brutal passions of the conquerors, so that little or no effort was put forth to procure their capture. But the work of pillage was prosecuted with spirit. All articles of clothing, as well as all articles convertible into food, that came within the reach of the soldiers, were confiscated and carried to their encampment.

The victorious army now enjoyed an uninterrupted march through Pennsylvania to the borders of Maryland. At Philadelphia the Chinese prisoners of war, taken at the opening of the contest, were liberated, and served to reinforce the advancing columns.

The news of the defeat and annihilation of the Republican army of the east was scattered, in a brief period of time, throughout the whole of the American forces, and spread the greatest dismay and apprehension. The capital was a scene of the wildest confusion, which was further intensified by the reports that the victorious army was marching southward, and even now approaching the borders of Maryland, on its way to Washington. Although garrisoned by a large army, yet additional troops were immediately ordered from all points, to proceed, by forced marches, to the relief of the city. The army of central Virginia began immediately to fall back, in obedience to orders from Washington, but pressed so closely by the enemy that the commander was compelled to abandon

his heavier artillery, which was first spiked and then left to fall into the hands of the enemy. The retreat continued several days, until a large part of the army had crossed the Potomac.

Meantime their success at the east had begun to stimulate the whole Chinese army. Every part began to vie with every other in prosecuting a vigorous campaign against the now famishing forces of the Republic. Of these latter the shattered remnant that was left was no longer a match for the innumerable swarm that now swept in upon them from every side.

The character of the war had undergone a change. It was no longer a succession of battles, but a slaughter—or more properly a war of extermination. The soldiers of the Republic refused all terms of capitulation. They saw, with a feeling that finds no expression in the poverty of uttered language, the land that their fathers had wrested from the primeval forests and inhospitable wilderness of the New World, and erected into the most glorious, and one among the most powerful, independencies upon the globe—a land whose liberties, whose power, whose wealth, whose enlightenment, were theirs by creation, and which had known no civilization other than their own—saw all this already hurled beneath the tread of the rude conquerer. They saw their holy flag, no longer the emblem of a nation, and as powerless to protect as it was impotent to save, supplanted

by a barbarous device of a barbarous age. They had never felt the yoke of the conquerer, and the experiment was too degrading to be entertained. Their loss was irreparable. Kindred, as well as country, had gone; the one swept by famine, the other by the sword. The destruction was complete. It only remained for the soldier of the Republic to show the world how a patriot could die.

There was no longer a Republican army of the west. It had fallen and become engulfed in the irresistible torrent of numbers; and the last of the States so lately free were opened up to the march of conquest. But the Capital remained, and there the whole American army was now concentrated. On the north the lines of the enemy extended from Baltimore to Harper's Ferry, and on the southeast they had reached the Potomac. On the southwest they pressed forward within a few miles of Washington City.

To this small area were now confined all of the territory that remained, and all that remained of the independence and the nationality of the American Republic; and to this were likewise circumscribed all the passions, emotions, vices, virtues and suffering, precipitated by the most destructive war that ever stained the records of the human race.

CHAPTER XV.

THE NEW GOVERNMENT——AN IMPERIAL EDICT——MONGOLIAN CONSERVATISM——AID TO THE SUFFERERS——THE LAST COMBAT——A PROGRAMME THAT FAILED OF EXECUTION——THE WESTERN EMPIRE——FAREWELL REFLECTIONS——THE END.

THE same wise conservatism in the affairs of government which has ever marked the administration of the Emperors of China, and which clothed the Chinese people with the advantages of civilization while Europe was yet a wilderness, was made the policy of the conquerors in America, now that the success of their arms had been assured, and the Republic had begun to yield to the pressure of the invasion.

The tidings of the first Mongolian victory and its immediate consequences had no sooner reached the Viceroy, than he put forth his decree, in the name of the Emperor, commanding, in effect, that no subject of the Empire, under pain of death, should commit any acts of violence upon the person or against the property of anyone heretofore a subject of the United States, and not now under arms; and further commanding, that in every case in which property had been confiscated by the army, in ignorance of the Imperial pleasure, as

herein first promulgated, that the same, or its equivalent, should be restored to the owner. It was further ordered that this decree be proclaimed throughout the whole of His Majesty's Western Empire, and translated into all the languages thereof.

The publication of this order was most opportune. Unlike the decrees emanating from the Republican government, in the past—which were often made the playthings of courts of justice, and even of individuals whose wealth, and consequent influence, had so often elevated them above the laws—the decrees of the Emperor of China were as inexorable as those of Destiny. Of the consequences and the penalty of an infraction, there was no evasion possible. Of its language all were compelled to take due notice and make proper construction at their peril. There were no refinements of procedure through the meshes of which the guilty might escape, and no "reasonable doubts" to bewilder the understanding of a Judge or jury. As a rule of enforcement, the generous maxims of our humane system of jurisprudence were often reversed; for, with them, it were better that ten innocent persons should suffer than that the lawful decrees of the sovereign should fail of enforcement.

The government of a people under laws of this character, and who have been educated to recognize the temper, becomes a matter of obvious

easiness; and the conduct of the army in its relations with those of the inhabitants who had survived the vicissitudes of the war, showed how well, even the humblest Coolie understood the imperative nature of the Imperial command.

No sooner had unrestricted inter-communication between the north and the south been established, by the destruction of the western army of the Republic, and the fact of the general destitution of the country been ascertained, than the Viceroy ordered the immediate transmittal of provisions to the north, and their free distribution among the people. Numerous supply depots were established at the most available points for distribution, and the proud Caucasian was at length compelled to accept the necessaries of life, as a charitable donation, from the hands of the Mongolian; or, failing to do so, choose the alternative of starvation. These measures of relief having been at length carried to practical perfection, the new government turned its attention to the unfinished work of conquest.

A trace of the Republic still remained in the defiant attitude of the Capital. For the purpose of reducing this last stronghold, it was deemed inexpedient as well as unnecessary to involve a further destruction of life by any further conflict of arms; and hence it was resolved to await a proposal to surrender, when famine should have so far completed the conquest that arms had begun.

All communication with the outside having been cut off by the investing army, the fate of the army of the west had not been made known at the Capital; otherwise, it might have proposed, or accepted terms of capitulation. But, believing that the west was still protected, and finding the supplies of army stores and provisions about exhausted, it was determined to abandon the Capital to its fate, cut through the lines of the enemy, and effect a junction with the western division.

Accordingly, in reply to a summons to surrender the city, the besieged contracted their lines on the south and east, and engaged the investing army on the west. But the mistake was fatal to the life of the army, as well as to its already hopeless cause. Once removed from the protection of their fortifications, the troops became exposed to the fire of overwhelming numbers on every side. Half the army had fallen, and the work of destruction continued. The veteran Generals in command refused to surrender, and not until the President, placing himself at the head of the army, raised the insignia of capitulation, and commanded the surrender, did the troops lay down their arms.

Meantime the conquerors had entered the Capital. The Republic had fought its last battle; and the Imperial Dragon of China already floated from the dome of the Capitol.

The very name of the United States of America was thus blotted from the record of nations and

peoples, as unworthy the poor boon of existence. Where once the proud domain of forty States, besides millions of miles of unorganized territory, cultivated the arts of peace and gave to the world its brightest gems of literature, art and scientific discovery, the Temple of Liberty had crumbled; and above its ruins was reared the colossal fabric of barbaric splendor known as the Western Empire of his August Majesty the Emperor of China and Ruler of all lands.

Forever occupied and diverted by its factions and its politicians, in their local intrigues for the acquisition of political power, the Ship of State sailed proudly on, too blinded by her preoccupation and too reliant in her strength to bestow a thought upon the perils of the sea. She sighted afar the foam of the maelstrom, and tossed her haughty pennants in sovereign disdain of its power. But its current was around her, and she glided unconsciously to her doom. In vain the exercise of her giant strength; in vain that her factions, in happy forgetfulness of their petty antipathies, united their powers to save! Too late! She was hurled, helpless and struggling, to ruin and annihilation; and as she sank, engulfed, she carried with her the prestige of a race; for in America the representatives of the one race of man, which, in its relation to the family of men, had borne upon its crest the emblem of sovereign power since the dawn of history, saw now the an-

cestral diadem plucked from its proud repose, to shed its lustre upon an alien crown. Thus passed away the glory of the Union of States, at the dawn of the Twentieth Century.

THE END.